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THE KHĀRIĀS

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With numerous illustrations and a Map ;

&

A Foreword

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CHAPTER XI.

Religious Beliefs : Deities and Spirits.

In the last three chapters, we have seen how every stage in the Khārīā's cycle of individual life in society is bound up with ritual action directed to mysterious superhuman Powers. In the next chapter we shall find how every phase in his economic, social, and other collective activities, too, is bound up with religious ritual. In fact, the Khārīā's efforts to live and to make life worth living,—to secure individual and collective well-being,—center on ritual action directed to unseen mysterious Powers. These Powers or spiritual Beings are regarded as "superhuman" rather than "supernatural", for to the relatively primitive Khārīā, as to other communities on the same level of culture, there are more things in "Nature" than the eye can see, —more things in heaven and earth than the civilised man's philosophy or science dreams of.

Historically, religious emotion and resulting ritual action, as spontaneous or instinctive reactions to environment, would appear to have originated much earlier than organised beliefs and a definite pantheon. Yet, as an account of the Khārīā's present organised religious rites and ceremonies would necessarily involve a reference to his religious beliefs and to his pantheon, we shall begin, in the present chapter, with a brief

and spirits worshipped and propitiated by Khāriā society, and then follow it up, in the next chapter, with an account of the Khāriā's modes of dealing with them.

In the last chapter we referred to the Khāriā's belief in the soul as separate from the body, and to his ideas about an after-life. Even the rude Hill Khāriā, like the Dhelki and the Dūdh Khāriā, has passed beyond the more primitive mode of thought which has been called "animatism", in which the soul or spirit could not be definitely discriminated from its physical receptacle. The conception of mysterious impersonal forces and powers animating all Nature and even artificial objects has long receded somewhat to the background and now openly manifests itself mostly in his ideas of an occult psychic force of the nature of "mana" which is believed to inhere in certain objects and beings and which plays the principal rôle in his ideas and practices relating to "Magic" and Sorcery. The Khāriā's Religion proper is concerned with invisible spiritual beings of different grades and powers believed to be able to help or hinder his efforts to live and to enjoy life.

It would be beyond the scope of this ethnographical monograph to discuss how, as a reaction to their environment and from the psychological necessity of projecting their own personality subconsciously (and not by any painful process of thinking) upon objects and forces of Nature and upon their visible and invisible surroundings, remote generations of the Khāriā's ancestors arrived at their attitude towards Life and Nature, and at their conception of an individual soul or spirit of each hill and jungle, of the Sun and the Earth, as distinct from their visible forms, and came to personify them as distinct

entities each with a soul and a will of its own, powerful to help or to harm mankind. But it is evident that the realisation of the separate existence of a soul or inner man,—whether derived through the ‘*mana*’ experience or through dream-experience or in waking visions or trances induced in persons of a psychic aptitude by the stimulation of the dance or otherwise,—must have lent this animistic conception a considerable emotional support. The spirits visualised in the psychic experiences of such men “favoured of the gods”, and the mode of worship instinctively adopted by them, would appear to have formed the basis of the tribal cults and rituals. The natural yearning of the human heart for contact with the dear departed might have lent additional strength to the emotional urge for entering into personal relations with these and other spiritual beings regarded as capable of influencing man’s destinies. And ancient Khāriā society, like similar other societies, more or less guided by the tribal ‘seers’ of visions, organised appropriate methods of approaching the world of spirits for help and security and blessings. It is, however, from the authority of inherited traditions that present-day Khāriā society has derived its attitude towards life, its conception of the individual’s duties in life, and its loyalty to these conceptions and duties, and its ideas regarding the soul and spirits, and its modes of ceremonial approach to the mysterious superhuman powers, and communion with them, in order to secure good luck and avert ill luck.

The Khāriā’s present religious faith is thus a belief in spiritual Beings endowed with personality and capable of influencing the destinies of man. And his reli-

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gious practices comprise the propitiation by prayers, sacrifices and libations, of the invisible Powers and Beings that are believed to control Nature. The object sought to be achieved is to secure good luck and avert bad luck. The Khāriā's religion, as we have seen, is vitally bound up with his economic and social life.

ii. Khāriā Deities and Spirits.

The powers and forces of Nature which the primitive Khāriā personifies and deifies, fears and propitiates are mostly those of his immediate environment.

Hill-Spirits or Pāṭs.—Thus the primitive Hill Khāriā recognizes, besides the Supreme Spirit represented by the Sun (*Dharam*) and the Earth-goddess or Mother-Earth (*Bāsukī Mātā*), the spirits of one or more prominent hills near his settlement. These Hill-spirits which he calls *Pāṭs* would appear to be the counter-parts of the *Burū-bongās* of the Mūṇḍās. These *Pāṭ*-spirits, to whom special sacrifices are offered, are known each by the name of the hill of which it is believed to be the guardian spirit.

Of the different hills in their neighbourhood or district, the one which was either their former home or is at present nearest to their settlement is called the *Ishṭi Pāṭ* or tutelary *Pāṭ* of the village-family, and the others are deities of the same class who inspire reverent awe. The number of these *Pāṭs* is legion. The title *Ṭhākurānī* (Revered Lady) is often suffixed to them. Thus, we hear of *Kōnā-Pāṭ Ṭhākurānī*, *Neturā-I'āṭ Ṭhākurānī*, *Bhālki-Pāṭ-Ṭhākurānī*, *Kālu-Pāṭ-Ṭhākurānī*, *Tarnā-Pāṭ-Ṭhākurānī*, *Daṛbaṛsirā-Pāṭ-Ṭhākurānī*, *Mānki-Pāṭ-Ṭhākurānī*, and so forth, among the

Mayurbhañj Khāriās. It may be noted that the title *Ṭhākurañī* is also sometimes applied by the Hill Khāriā to the Earth-goddess as her proper name, or is suffixed to the name '*Bāsuki*'. The Earth-goddess and the Jungle-spirit (*Boṛām*) together constitute the main *Grām-deotī* or village-deities of the Hill Khāriās. Of these, *Boṛām* is said to be a male deity and *Bāsuki* female. The Hill Khāriās of Mayurbhañj invoke, at every *Pūjā*, their three principal deities—*Dharam*, *Pāt*, and *Bāsuki* ⁷⁴ or *Ṭhākurañī* or *Bāsū-mātā*. To define their Creed, they say.—

[Translation]

<p>“<i>Ākāśe Dharam deotā ;</i> <i>Pātāle Bāsuki Ṭhākurañī ;</i> <i>Grām prati Grām-devatā</i>”.</p>	<p>“God in the heavens; Bāsuki in the nether regions; The village-deities in every village”.</p>
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The Hill Khāriās of Dhalbhūm and Mānbhūm do not now know *Bāsuki* or *Bāsū-mātā* but only *Dharam*, *Pāt*, and *Boṛām*. Their main village-deities are *Ishṭi Pāt* and *Boṛām*. And the sacred grove is known as *Boṛām-sāl* (and in some villages as *Ṭhākurañī-sāl* !) and consists of one or more stones (representing deities) ceremonially installed under some large tree or trees.

78. It is interesting to note that although the Hill Khāriās and some neighbouring tribes have adopted from their Hindu neighbours, the names *Bāsuki* and *Ṭhākurañī*, they have not preserved the original signification or denotation of the terms, and different tribes use the terms differently. Thus, the Hill Bhūiñyās apply the term *Ṭhākurañī* not to the *Pāts* or Hill-spirits, but as a variant of *Bāsuki-mātā* whom they identify with the Earth-goddess. The name *Boṛām*, again, is applied by the Hill Bhūiñyās not to any jungle spirit but to a male deity who is said to be the husband of the village goddess *Gāi-srī* or *Bāsuki mātā* or *Ṭhākurañī*, and by some identified with God Himself. See S. C. Roy, *The Hill Bhūiñyās of Orissā*, pp. 221-2. *Oṭā* (Earth)-*Boṛām* is another name for the Sun-God or Supreme Deity of the HOs—See Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 185 (foot note)

The Clan-spirit.—The more advanced and better organised Dūdh-Khāriās and Dhelki-Khāriās offer sacrifices also to another Mountain-spirit whom the Dūdh-Khāriās call *Bārṇḍā-Pāt* or *Bārṇḍā-lābō* ⁷⁹ as also *Bār-Pāhārī*, and the Dhelki-Khāriās call *Bār-Pāhārī* or the Great Mountain-spirit (perhaps the counterpart of the generalised *Marāṅg-buru* or Great Mountain-spirit of the Mūṇḍās and some other Mūṇḍā tribes). The Khāriās do not now know the origin of this spirit. They explain it merely as their '*Bhāyād-Bhūt*' or Clan-spirit. It is represented by a sculptured wooden post. But there are reasons to believe that it is the spirit of the hill which was the original or ancient home of each clan. The analogy of the *Būrū-bōṅgā* of the allied tribes of Birhōrs, ⁸⁰ Mūṇḍās, Hōs and the Bhūmij indicates this. And the fact that the man who wants to offer sacrifices to this spirit has to requisition the services of the head of his branch of the clan who may happen to be living in the ancestral village, would appear to support this conjecture. In the *Bārṇḍā* or *Bār-Pāhārī pūjā* of the Khāriās of any village or rather clan, as in the *Būrū-bōṅgā pūjā* of the Birhōrs, all the members of the clan living within reasonable distance are invited. Although the analogy of similar spirits in other allied tribes might indicate that the *Bārṇḍā* spirit was in origin a mountain spirit, yet the myths which among the Khāriās and some other allied tribes have gathered round this spirit represent him, too, as the deified spirit of dead human beings (see chapter XIV *post*).

79. The derivation of the name '*Bārṇḍā*', no Khāriā could give us. But all said that it is the same as '*Bār-pāhārī*' (Mūṇḍā, *Marāṅg-būrū*) of their neighbouring tribes and castes.

80. S. C. Roy, *The Birhōrs*, pp. 300-301, 333-339.

Jungle-Spirit.—The Hill Khāriās who have no regular totemic clan organization do not recognise the *Bāṛṇḍā* spirit. They do, however, include in their pantheon a Jungle Spirit which the other sections of the Khāriās no longer recognize. The Hill Khāriās of Mayurbhañj fear and venerate, propitiate and supplicate the spirit of their native jungles to whom they apply the name *Barām*. They also offer sacrifices to the Earth-spirit or Earth-goddess or Mother-Earth under the name of *Bāsuki* or *Bāsuki-mātā*. This name has been evidently borrowed from neighbouring tribes and castes, for we have found the same deity worshipped by the Bhūiyās and some other Hinduised tribes and Hindu castes in Mayurbhañj and Keonjhar under the same name. *Bāsuki*, it may be noted, is the name of the *Nāg*-serpent who, in Hindu mythology, is represented as supporting the Earth (*Basumatī*) on its back. The name *Ṭhākuraṇṇī*, as we have seen, is applied by some Hill Khāriās as a variant of *Bāsuki* or *Bāsu-mātā*; some again would name a separate Mother-goddess (*Devī-Māī*).

Village-Spirits and Deities.—The Ḍhelki Khāriās and Dūdh Khāriās who are now settled agriculturists, living in regular villages, no longer include in their pantheon any special spirit of the woods, but they have for their village-spirits what they call *Pāṭs* and *Dāñṭs* with their leader the *Dārḥā-Ḍūbō* (the Gate-keeper spirit) or *Rakshā-Ḍūbō* (the protective spirit), who is believed to protect the village from mischievous spirits that may seek to enter the village from outside it. Sometimes this spirit is referred to as *Rakshā Dārḥā*. The origin of this spirit is not known, as no Khāriā whom we

questioned knew anything about it or could give any tradition or other hint or clue about it.

The name 'Asūr Dārḥā' which we sometimes hear among the Khāriās would connect the Dārḥā spirit with the spirits of the prehistoric race of Asūrs who, according to tradition, occupied Chōṭā Nāgpur before the Mūṇḍās. Some Dūdh Khāriās told us that *Rakshā Dūbō* moves about, axe in hand, and calls people by name at dead at night. If the person addressed responds to the call, he falls sick and dies. Sometimes this spirit asks for a little tobacco, and, if it is given, no harm is done. If, however, this is not given, the man falls ill and dies. At village Girān in thānā Kūrḍeg in the Rāñchi District a large *Semar* (*Bombax malabaricum*) tree is shown as the local seat of *Rakshā Dūbō*, and some Khāriā boys of the village assert that they have seen the spirit seated on a stone-slab "perched as a throne" on the branch of the tree. A similar account is given of the spirit having been seated on a *śāl* tree in village Rēgāri in thānā Thīṭhāitāngār in the Rāñchi District.

The Hindu names, *Dārḥā* and *Rakshā*, of this spirit might appear to indicate that it is a loan-god. *Rakshā* is the Sanskrit word for 'protection' and '*Dārḥā*' is a Hindu word meaning 'pertaining to the door', so that '*Rakshā dūbō*',⁸¹ means the 'protecting spirit' and '*Dārḥā dūbō*' means the spirit who guards the 'door or entrance' to the village. It may also be noted that this spirit is also known and propitiated under the same name of *Dārḥā-bhūt* by some other aboriginal neighbours of the Khāriās such as the Ōrāoṇs and the Mūṇḍās.

81. Compare the Bengali Hindu deity *Rakshā Kālī*.

The Hill Khāṛiās of Mayurbhañj, propitiate a tutelary spirit of the settlement under the name of *Bāsuki* to which reference has already been made. As we have said, this spirit is evidently a borrowed deity identified with the Earth-goddess. The *Devī Māi* or the Mother-goddess, identified by some Khāṛiās with the *Dhartī Māi* or Earth-goddess, is also included among the village-deities in many Dūdh Khāṛiā villages. The name of this deity might seem to imply that she is a Hindu deity; and, as a matter of fact, all the Hindu castes, besides most agricultural primitive tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, worship this deity as a village-goddess.

Ancestor-spirits: 'Burhā-Burhī and Māri Masān. — As the phenomenon of death might probably have been one of the things that first suggested the idea of a soul or spirit as distinct from the body, it is natural that certain disembodied human spirits should be included in the Khāṛiā pantheon. And the first spirits to be personified and deified would naturally be one's own dead ancestors. This is why we find among all sections of the Khāṛiās, as among other sections of the Mūṇḍā tribes, the worship of Ancestor Spirits. One's parents and other near relatives whom the Khāṛiā loved and honoured when they were living cannot fail to be regarded with love and reverence after they are dead. Spirits of ancestors who were revered and looked up to as *Siāns* or village-elders during their life-time are especially remembered and honoured after death.

Thus it is in the case of these Ancestor-spirits that to the sense of the sacred and to religious awe and fear is added a feeling of reverent love as one of the deep emotional elements that go to make up the Khāṛiā's

religious complex. In every Khāriā home, even among the Hill Khāriās, a corner of the cooking apartment is set apart as the seat of the Ancestor-spirits of the family. Here oblations of rice-beer are offered to them with reverence and love and awe before any member of the family drinks rice-beer in the house, and here at every important religious feast and festival and domestic ceremony, libations of rice-beer and offerings of rice must be given to these spirits first, and offerings of first-fruits made to them first of all. In cases of illness in the family, prayers are offered and vows made to the Ancestor-spirits. These spirits are known by the generic name of *Māri Masān* and also by the endearing name of *Būrḥā-Būrḥī* or the 'old men and old women' among the Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās, and *Pitrūs* among the Hill Khāriās.

Spirits of other Dead Relatives: Dāñr-Masān', or Khūñt.- Besides the spirits of dead relatives that have been ceremonially installed as household gods with their seats in the family kitchen, there are those deceased relatives whose spirits, for some reason or other, have not been installed in the sacred tabernacle of the house. They are known among the Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās as *Dāñr Masān* or the 'Dead of the Uplands'. They, too, are believed to protect the members of their families from calamities, particularly sickness. And at certain festivals, libations and sacrifices are offered to them collectively.

'Tiger'-Spirits: Bāghīā.— There is another class of human spirits that receive special propitiation collectively as a class. These are called *Bāghīā*-spirits or spirits of persons killed by tigers. They are believed to

assume occasionally the visible form of tigers and harm man and cattle. They are also credited with the power of controlling actual tigers. As the tigers living in the native hills of the Hill Khāriās and also those living in the hills and jungles near the villages of the Dūdh and Dhelki sections, now and then kill or maim men and cattle, and used to do so much more frequently in the past, it is natural that these *Bāghiā* spirits, as a class, should be propitiated by the Khāriā. Individual *Bāghiā* spirits may, however, be specially dealt with in certain cases. When a particular *Bāghiā* spirit is, however, detected or suspected to commit depredations in a village, the services of a spirit-doctor are requisitioned to appease it and expel it from the settlement. The Hill Khāriās fear and, when occasion arises, seek to propitiate and expel individual *Bāghiā* spirits, but have no clear conception of the *Bāghiā* as a class-spirit.

Minor mischievous Spirits of the dead: Churil, Muā.—There are certain unhallowed spirits of dead human beings which all sections of the Khāriās, like most other aboriginal tribes as well as Hindu castes, particularly the lower castes, fear as mischievous spirits that require to be avoided, repelled or controlled. These are the *Churils* or spirits of women dying in pregnancy or childbirth, and *Muās* or spirits of persons dying of violent death. According to different modes of death by violence, the *Muā* spirits fall into different classes: Thus, the spirit of a person killed by an axe or other cutting weapon is called a *Kāṭal Muā*, of one stabbed to death is called a *Bhokal Muā*, of one dying by hanging *Tāngal Muā*, of one beaten to death *Pāsal Muā*,

and so forth. Even a *Bāghīā* is included among the *Muā* spirits under the name of '*Bāghout Muā*.' The *Muā* spirits are believed to waylay human beings, tickle them and otherwise molest them or lead them astray, but can do them no serious harm. Though, strictly speaking, they form no part of the Khāriā pantheon, and (except the *Bāghout Muās*) can do no serious harm, they are included among the spirits who constitute '*Khūñt Pāt*' which we shall presently describe.

Spirits of dead Heroes: Āhīr Āhīrin.—Besides the cult of the dead spirits of their own tribe, the Dūdh Khāriās and the Dhelki Khāriās have included in their pantheon the spirits or rather the generalised spirit of certain powerful ancient enemies belonging to the Hindu or Hinduized caste of Āhīrs at whose hands they suffered a crushing defeat in the days of tradition, and whose valour presumably made a deep impression on the tribal mind. This generalised spirit is known by the Hindi name of "Āhīr-Āhīrin". And minor deified spirits of individual Āhīrs are also named in the invocations and songs connected with the propitiation of the "Āhīr-Āhīrin" spirit. A Khāriā name—'*Dimtāng sāng*'—has also been given to it by the Dūdh Khāriās. The Dhelki Khāriās also name the spirit as the "*Āhīr-ḍubo*". The *Goreā-Ḍubo* or the spirit of the cattle-shed is differentiated by some Dūdh Khāriās from the Āhīr-Āhīrin spirit who, according to them, is a *Deotā* and not a *Bhūt* or *Ḍubō*. The Hill Khāriās also propitiate the presiding spirit of their cattle and cattle-shed (*Gohāl*). The Āhīrs are the great pastoral caste of Northern India. It is interesting to note that no fowls or pigs (which are taboo to 'Hindu' spirits), but

only a grey goat, may be offered to this spirit, and the offerings are made in an improvised cattle-shed. This *Pūjā* or sacrifice is known as "*Dimtāng sāng*" or 'Cattle-shed worship'. It is also significant that the head of a *Khāriā* family while offering sacrifices to this spirit has to put on a *Jenau* or sacred thread of the Brāhmaṇs—thus presumably indicating the Hindu origin of this spirit.

Other Spirits and Supernatural Powers.—Besides their cult of the dead and the cult of the Hill-spirits, *Dūdh Khāriās* and *Dhelki Khāriās* with their better and wider social organization than that of the Hill *Khāriās*, have arrived at a generalized view of all the village spirits under one group-name. Leaving out the Sun-God or Supreme Spirit and the Ancestor-spirits, all the other spirits, whether of dead human beings or of the neighbouring jungles and hills (other than the individual *Pāt*-spirits) besides all other supernatural Beings and Powers that may conceivably affect the well-being of the village, are now grouped under the class-name of "*Khūñt-Pāt*" or "*Khūñt-lāñt*".

Khūñt is the collective name given by the *Dūdh Khāriās* and the *Dhelki Khāriās* to all the spirits of the dead *Khāriās* of a village who are not included among the ancestor-spirits, and *Pāt* in this connection stands for all the spirits of rocks and hills of the village and its neighbourhood other than the special *Pāt*-spirits referred to above; and '*Dāñt*', which literally means the 'stem or stump of a tree', would appear to refer generally to tree-spirits or jungle-spirits. *Dārḥā*, *Bāghiā*, *Churil*, and *Muā* are included among *Khūñt-Pāts*. So, too, are

the *Māṛi Masāns* or spirits of deceased ancestors and other deceased members of the family whose shades have not been ceremonially brought back to the house owing to the manner of their death. *Churils* and *Muās* are, however, in no case, entitled to any separate sacrifices. In the general village-*Pūjās* performed by the Village Priest a number of fowls are offered in sacrifice to the *Khūñṭ Pāts* or *Khūñṭ Dāñṭs* collectively, including these spirits. *Khūñṭ-Pāṭ* is the collective name for the 'leaders' of the village-spirits who can control the minor spirits and impersonal powers, and resist the intrusion of outside spirits into the village.

All these spirits except the Ancestor-spirits and tutelary *Pāṭ* Spirits and the Mother-Goddess and Earth-goddess are classed by the Khāriās as *Ḍūbō*. The Khāriā attributes most of his calamities and ill-luck to the ill-will of these *Ḍūbō* Spirits, who are easily displeased. Ancestor-spirits are believed to protect their descendants from harm as much as they can and, so long as these spirits are not offended by the neglect of offerings to them in due season, promote their well-being.

The Supreme Deity.—Above the *Ḍūbōs* and other spirits and deities, the Khāriās of all sections recognise the great God who is believed to be the Creator of man as well as of the *Ḍūbōs* and *Deotās*, and who rules both. When all other helpers fail, the Khāriā turns to the Supreme Spirit known under the Khāriā name of *Giring* or *Beṛō* and also under the Hindu names of *Bhagwān* and 'Pōnōmōsōr' (a corruption of Saṅskrit *Parameswōr* or the Great God). Another name applied to the Supreme God is 'Dharam' or 'Dharam-Rājā'. Whether in this name we are to

recognise the influence of Buddhism or rather of some ancient neighbouring Buddhist community, it is difficult to say. It may be noted that the Dravidian-speaking Orāoñ neighbours of the Khāriās also name the Sun-god or the Supreme God as 'Dhārmē' or 'Dharmes' as well as "Bīṛi" or "Beṛo" and the Dravidian-speaking Mālers and Khoṇḍs respectively name Him as 'Beṛ' or 'Beṛo-Gosāiñ', and 'Beṛu Pennu' or 'Dharam Pennu'. In ancient Hindu literature, too, the name 'Dharma' is also applied to the Sun. It may be noted that the Hill Khāriās call the Supreme Spirit only as "Dharma" or "Dharam" and also as "Bhagawān". The name "Parameshwar" is also sometimes applied to Him. Among the Khāriās, as among other Mūṇḍā tribes, a white cock or a white goat is regarded as the appropriate sacrifice for the All-Pure Deity. A drop of blood of such sacrificial fowl must be drunk by a Dūdh Khāriā or a Dhelki Khāriā to purify himself from social and other 'sins'. At all important social and religious ceremonies such a sacrifice must first of all be made to the Supreme Spirit.

The Ancestor-spirits rank next below *Pōnōmō-ōr* or *Dharam* and above the *Dūbō*-Spirits. The Ancestor-spirits and the Supreme-Spirit as also such deities as *Devī Māi* or the Mother-goddess are called *Deōtās* or deities, whereas the other spirits are merely *Dūtōs* or spirits who more generally prove to be malignant (*Nāśan Dūbōs*) rather than beneficent. While the *Deōtās* are ordinarily beneficent, the good-will of a *Dūbō* can only be secured through proper sacrifices and offerings, the slightest neglect of which rouses its anger and maleficence.

The Dūdh and Dhelki sections of the Khāriā tribe have advanced further in anthropomorphizing these spirits. Thus the *Rakshā Dūbō* or *Dārkhā Dūbō* is described as a man going about with an axe (*ṭūṅā*) in his hand and a leaf-cigarette between his lips. The *Bāghīū* spirit is said to have the shape of a dark-skinned man moving about with pebbles and brick-bats and clods of earth in his hands and pelting them at passers-by.

Common Pantheon of the Mūṇḍā Tribes.—From a comparative study of the deities and spirits of the three sections of the Khāriās, it will appear that the worship or rather propitiation of the Ancestor-spirits and of the spirits of their native Hills and the Supreme Spirit represented by the Sun forms the nucleus or central core of their religion. These are the only deities which Khāriās of all sections still recognise and seek to propitiate. In fact, among all the principal tribes of the Mūṇḍā stock we find the propitiation or worship of the Ancestor-spirits and the Hill-spirits, to be the common elements of their religion. Thus the Mūṇḍās ⁸² have their '*Hārām Hōrō-kō*' (Ancestor-spirits) also called '*Oṛā Bōṅgākō*' (House-spirits), and their '*Būrū bōṅgākō*' (Hill-spirits); the Hōs ⁸³ have their '*Hām-hō-kō*' (Ancestor-spirits) and '*Ōā hāprām*' or '*Oā-hām*' (House-ancestors), the Birhōrs ⁸⁴ have their '*Buru-bōṅgākō*' (Hill-spirits) and '*Hāprōm*' (ancestor-spirits), the Santāls ⁸⁵ have their '*Oṛāk'-bōṅgā'-kō* or House-gods (bearing such names of hills as Baur Pāhār, Bar Pāhār *etc.*). The Bhūmij, ⁸⁶

82. *The Mūṇḍās and their Country*, pp. 461, 469.

83. *Singbhum District Gazetteer*, pp. 84-85 *J. B. O. R. S.*, XV, 206.

84. S. C. Roy, *The Birhōrs*, pp. 300-301, 305-307.

85. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, 232.

86. *Ibid.*, I, 124.

though now mostly Hinduised, have their *Burus* (Hill-gods) as well as Ancestor-spirits, and the Hill *Bhūiṇyās*⁸⁷ have their '*Pitrus*' or Ancestor-spirits and their '*Pāts*' or Hill-spirits. Like the Mayurbhañj Hill *Khāriās*, the equally primitive *Juāngs*⁸⁸ of the *Mūṇḍā* stock who live in the hills and jungles of the adjoining States of Keōñjhar, Pāl Lahera and Dhenkānāl still sacrifice to the forest deity *Barām* whom they regard as the head of all the spirits. '*Otē Barām*' is another name for the Sun-god or Supreme Deity among the *Hōs*. Recognition of the Supreme Spirit or "High God" represented by the Sun would appear to have been among the earliest beliefs of the *Mūṇḍā* stock when most of the *Mūṇḍā* tribes lived together or, at any rate, in close contact with one another. It has been supposed by some scholars that the Moon and not the Sun was the original deity of the *Mūṇḍā* tribes. But it is the *Santāls* alone who use the word *Chāndo* for both the Sun (*Sing Chāndo*, or *Day-Chāndo*) and the Moon (*Nindā Chāndo*, or *Night Chāndo*).⁸⁹ But the *Khāriās* call the Sun "*Beṛo*" and the heat of the Sun "*Giṛing*", and the Moon they call '*Lerāng*'. The former is regarded as male and the latter as female.

The Moon or *Lerāng* is sometimes described as the wife of the Sun; and an orthodox *Khāriā* may bow to the Moon, when visible, before he goes to bed. But no sacrifices are offered to the Moon as separate from the Sun. Risley mentions "*Joyōlo Dūbo*, the moon" as a deity of the *Khāriās* to whom a black

87. S. C. Roy, *The Hill Bhūiṇyās of Ūrissā*, pp 226-9.

88. Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, 141.

89. Campbell, *Santal-English Dictionary*, p. 89.

cock is offered. But we have not come across or heard of any such deity or spirit or of any sacrifices to it. 'Yolo' is the Khāriā word for the 'west', 'sunset' or 'evening' and also the 'moon'. The Dūdh Khāriās offer sacrifices to a spirit named *Yolo Dubo* which they translate in Hindi as "*Āndhārī Bhūt*" (the spirit of the Dark) and this is believed by its votaries to be a form of *Bārṇḍā* or *Bar-Pāhārī* which is a Hill-spirit. A black fowl is sacrificed to it at the back of the house by a Khāriā married couple when either of them gets ill for the first time after marriage, and the husband and wife alone may eat the sacrificial meat, keeping absolute silence while eating it. We do not know of any reason for supposing that *Yolo* (which Dalton evidently mis-spells as "Joyolo" and is followed by Risley⁹⁰) represents the Moon as a deity. True, in their invocations of the Supreme Spirit whose symbol is the Sun, He is sometimes addressed as *Beṛō-Lerāṅ* or *Gīring-Lerāṅ*, the Sun-Moon, but He is never known or addressed by only the name of *Lerāṅ* (Moon) independently.

The Spirit of the Forest, whom the Juāṅgs and the Hill Khāriās call *Barām* would also appear to have been one of the original members of the pantheon of the Mūṇḍā tribes. Just as the Juāṅgs place *Barām*,⁹¹ the forest deity, at the head of their pantheon, so, too, do the allied tribe of Hill Bhūiyās or Pāuri Bhūiyās of the Keōṅjhar and Bonāi States of Ōṛissā, though they no longer identify him with the spirit of the forest but make him one of the principal village-gods and the hus-

90. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, 468.

91. Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 141. Also, see *Journal of the Bihar and Ōṛissā Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 285.

band of the Earth-goddess. Those Khāriās who, like the Mūṇḍās, the Hōs, and the Santāls, have cleared the forests, established villages and taken to settled agriculture, do not any longer require to appease any separate Jungle-spirit; but the old and effete Jungle-spirits are now included among the minor powers classed collectively as *Khūñt-ḍāñt* by the Dūdh and the Dhelki Khāriās, as by the Mūṇḍās.

Thus then it may be reasonably inferred that the original religion of the Khāriās, and probably of the other Mūṇḍā tribes as well, included the cult of the Supreme Spirit represented by the Sun or the Sun-Moon, the cult of Ancestor-spirits, and the cult of the Hill-spirits and Jungle-spirits. The other principal spirits (such as the Earth-Spirit and the tutelary Spirit of Cattle) now included in their pantheon would appear to have been gradually borrowed by them from other aboriginal, as also from their Hindu, neighbours, as these other gods of settled agriculturists (or rather gods conceived of after the pattern of their gods) were expected to help them in their new life of settled agriculturists.

Conclusion.—We have seen that in the religious system of the Khāriās, “Gīṅg-Lerāṅg” or Berō, or Pōnōmōsōr, or “Dharam”,—the Supreme-Spirit,—stands highest, in a class by Himself. He is a beneficent and moral deity. Next below him ranks the Ancestor-spirits. These, too, are deities (*Deōtās*) of the Khāriā pantheon who watch over the customary morals of their descendants in the land of the living and protect them from harm. The Ancestor-spirits, too, stand in a class apart, the other spirits of the dead being regarded as in-

ferior to them, if not in power, at least in beneficent activities. Next below the Ancestor-spirits in the hierarchy are the *Pāṭ*-spirits or Mountain-spirits (including the Jungle-spirits). *Devī-Māi* or the Mother-Goddess, and in a few villages, *Mahādeo* (regarded as the Spouse of the *Devī-Māi*) are special village deities, who are regarded as superior to the *Ḍūbōs* and, constituting a class by themselves.

Next come the *Ḍūbos* or rather *Nāśan-Ḍūbos* (lit., Ghosts which kill, that is to say, cause disease and death). These *Pāṭs* and *Ḍūbōs* along with the Earth-Spirit and the Jungle-spirit are the general village-spirits to whom sacrifices are offered at the *Jhānkōr* or sacred grove of the village by the village-priest or *Kālo*. These *Ḍūbōs* include *Dāśhā-Ḍūbō*, *Goṛeā-Ḍūbō*, *Khānt-Pāṭ* and *Churil*, besides a few other minor spirits and a number of named and nameless mischief-making spirits who do not receive any separate sacrifices. These are the two classes of village-spirits whose propitiation for the safety of the village is the function of the village-priest, although heads of individual families, too, occasionally offer sacrifices to the more important among these for their special benefit. Thus, for the protection of their cattle, sacrifices are offered to the *Goṛeā-Ḍūbō* by individual owners of cattle, and sacrifices are offered to other *Ḍūbōs* by individual *Khāriās* who may be troubled by them or may have, for some selfish purpose, taken vows to offer sacrifices to any of them. Sacrifices to the Ancestor-spirits is the function of the head of each family. And *Beṛō* or *Pōnōmōsōr* is invoked before all other deities and spirits, in every public worship and at every purificatory rite.

The village-priest has to make periodical sacrifices to the general village-spirits at the village *thān*, or at the *Sarnā* or *Jānkōṛ* or *Jhānkaṛ*, as the sacred grove is variously called, so that they may bless the village and protect it from the evil attentions of malignant spirits.

Village-priest.—We shall close this chapter with a short account of the method of appointment of the Khāriā village-priest and his assistant. Among the Hill Khāriās, as we have seen, generally the oldest member among the elders of a settlement acts as the *Dihuri* or priest. Every Dūdh Khāriā and Dhelki Khāriā village, too, has its own tribal village-priest called *Kālō* and his assistant called *Pujār*. The *Kālō* always belongs to the particular clan which originally founded the village by clearing the forest. In some villages where the Khāriās live among a large population of other tribes, such as Ōrāoṇs and Mūṇḍās, the *Kālō* is called the *Pāhān*. The post of *Kālō* or *Pāhān* is hereditary and the oldest or, in a few cases, the most competent of the sons of a deceased *Kālō* succeeds his father. But if a *Kālō* leaves no son, his successor is elected. In such a case, the method of election of the right man for the post is as follows:—All the villagers assemble in an open space. A *Siān* (village elder) touches the head of a young bachelor, and he gives in his hand an empty *tūmbā* or pumpkin-gourd, and prays, in local Hindi, to the principal village deity as follows:—

“*Hēṭhē Pañch, ūprē Pōnōmōsōr, jēkē tōr rāji khūshi āhē sēkē tu ē kām kē dē-dē*”. (“The Pañch on earth, and God above. Do thou choose for thy priest whomsoever thou art pleased with.”)

While saying this prayer, he sprinkles *āruā* (sun-dried) rice on the bachelor's head. The young man gets possessed, and begins to shake his head, and waves the *tūmbā* and dances about, and passes from one man to another, and finally begins to give strokes with his gourd on different parts of the body of a man of the clan of the deceased *Kālo*. And this man is regarded as the man chosen of the deity to be His priest. He is believed to be more qualified than others to employ with efficacy the traditional religious ritual for the good of the community. The *Pujār* is selected by the same method by the newly elected *Kālo*.

In the Rāñchi District, the *Kālo* generally gets some rent-free land called *Pāhānāi* land. Out of the income of this land the sacrificial fowls and other requirements are bought or supplied by the *Kālo* himself for the public sacrifices at the *Sarnā* or *Jhānkar*. This sacred grove, which might at one time have been a remnant of the original forest, has now in many places shrunk in size to a small clump of trees, generally *Sāl* (*Shorea Robusta*).

The symbol of the village-priest's office is the sacred winnowing basket (*Sāmū*) on which is kept the *āruā*-rice used for offerings to the village deities and spirits. When not required for the Pūjās, this *sāmū* is hung up in the *O'bhītār* or sacred tabernacle in the cooking compartment of the *Kālo*'s house where the shades of the deceased ancestors of the family have their abode and where they are believed to ensconce themselves on straw-bundles (*pōtōms*) of paddy or to squat in a snug corner. There, *gōlāng* or rice-beer is offered to them by the Dūdh Khāriā and the Dhelki Khāriā whenever

it is brewed in the house; and there offerings of the first-fruits of their fields and trees are offered to them before the family partake of them, and sacrifices and offerings are also given to them on certain important festivals. The Hill Khāriās, it may be noted, do not offer rice-beer to their Ancestor-spirits but, presumably under Hindu influence, offer only *āruā* rice and vermillion, though they offer rice-beer to the other spirits.

Progressive Development of Cult and Worship.— A comparison of the different deities and spirits of the primitive Hill Khāriās, on the one hand, and the comparatively more advanced Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās on the other, brings home to our mind the progressive development of the tribe's conception of its deities and spirits, *pari passu* with their economic and other progress. This development would appear to have been also partly influenced by the religious ideas of their Hindu neighbours. The Hill Khāriās, as we have seen, with their more primitive culture and limited extent of aggregation and cohesion, recognise fewer deities and spirits and have less generalised conceptions of the deities. Thus, to cite one instance, whereas the Dūdh and the Dhelki Khāriās, over and above their cult of individual deities and spirits, have arrived at a generalised conception of all the Hill spirits as one *Bār-Pāhāri* Spirit, and at a similar generalised conception of all the spirits of the hallowed dead under the class-name of *Māri-Masān*, and of all the spirits of the unhallowed dead under the class-name of *Ḍañṛ-Masān*, and of all the minor spirits of jungle and village under the generic names of *Khūñṭ Pāt* and *Khūñṭ-Dānt*, the more primitive Hill Khāriās have yet hardly risen to such generalised conceptions, but only conceive of their

gods and spirits as separate individual beings and make their offerings and sacrifices and address their prayers to the spirits of individual hills by name and to other spirits mostly as individual entities.

Hierarchy of the Deities and Spirits.—The Khāriā's religion is, in essence, as we have seen, a crude cult of many Powers. The gradation of rank among the Khāriā's deities and spirits is regulated by the respective degrees of beneficence attributed to each. The Supreme Deity and the Ancestor-spirits keep watch over the morals of the people and look after their general welfare, and the Mountain-spirit or *Pāt* of each village keeps guard over the village, protects it from trouble and looks after the well-being of the village-community, and is regarded as a benevolent friend—almost a comrade. Whereas Bhagwān and the Ancestor-spirits are wholly beneficent and watch over the morals of the tribe and only punish transgressions against the tribal moral code, and they as well as the *Pāt* spirits are beneficent and friendly deities, the Village-spirits are beneficent only so long as they are kept in good humour by regular sacrifices at stated times, and maleficent, bringing disease and death, whenever there is any remissness in offering those sacrifices.

The lesser spirits called *Dubōs* or *Bhūts* are believed to visit the Khāriās with calamities with a view to extort sacrifices. The Ancestor-spirits and the *Pāt*-spirits foil the mischievous designs of these lesser spirits, whose name is legion. This last class of spirits are feared and propitiated but kept at arm's length; whereas the Ancestor-spirits, the *Pāt*-spirits and the Village-spirits are regarded with reverential submission and hope and affectionate trust, and *Dharam* or the Sun-God is regarded with reverence

and awe as the Lord and Master too high for intimate communion. Although they venerate and worship *Bhagwān* or *Dharam* as the Divine Creative Power with the Sun (*Beṛo*) or the Sun's rays (*Giring*) as His symbol, and offer sacrifices to Him, yet the abstract conception of one Supreme Divine Power creating and governing the universe, is not the central factor in the Khārīā's religious consciousness. The dominant element in his religious faith is a belief in supernatural or rather spiritual beings who are mostly endowed with personality and are believed to be capable of influencing the destinies of man, and with whom man can enter into personal relations through appropriate rites. Such are principally the Ancestor-spirits and the Pāt-spirits and, to some extent, the Village-spirits.

Conclusion: General Features of Khārīā Religion.—The religion of the Khārīā, as we have seen, though essentially a cult of 'Powers', is not a religion of mere crouching fear of the baffling mysterious Powers of the dark. In spite of a haunting fear of evil powers, the Khārīā's reverent awe of an inscrutable Providence symbolised by the Sun, and a modicum of something of the nature of filial devotion to the Mother-Goddess, and of natural love and a feeling of respectful comradeship towards the Ancestor-Spirits, would appear to have elevated his religion to a somewhat higher level than that of the more primitive savage. As the natural imagery of the Sun (*Giring*) or the 'Sun-Moon' (*Beṛō-Lerāng*)—the Source of Light and Life—symbolises the Khārīā's recognition, however dim and undeveloped, of the sublimity and beneficence of Divinity, and the application to Him of the name "*Dharam*" ('*Virtue*') or "*Dharam-Rājā*"

("Virtue-Lord") signifies the recognition of the Deity as the Ruler not only of the material universe but of the moral order of things, so, too, does the application of the closest and most endearing term of primal human relationship, that of 'Mother', to the Earth-Goddess (*Bāṣukī-Mātā*) and to the Mother-Goddess (*Devī-Māī*), elevate the Khāriā's religion in refinement of sentiment somewhat above the level of crude primitive faiths. Even though such terms as "*Dharam-Rājā*" and "*Devī-Māī*" were obviously adopted from higher religions, this would appear to have been done only to meet an emotional demand, and the names themselves must have further reacted on their sentiments and helped to foster the feeling of filial love and trustful submission to the deities.

Apart from the Ancestor-cult and a belief in a Supreme Creator, whether derived from the idea of a first Ancestor or otherwise, the Khāriā believes in a host of spirits presiding over natural objects such as hills, trees and plants, and even over living creatures such as cattle. We have characterised the Khāriā's religion as *Spiritism* rather than *Animism*, for 'Animism' is rather a philosophy or explanatory theory in which the characteristic religious emotion or thrill does not enter.

Though Fetishism enters largely in many superstitious practices of the Khāriās (as it survives even among more civilised peoples), Khāriā religion can neither be designated as Fetishism which, though it regards natural and even some artificial objects as channels of supernatural occult power of the nature of **mana**, is more or less devoid of personality and will and of the emotional element which is the *sine qua non* of Religion.

CHAPTER XII.

Religious Feasts and Festivals.

In the last chapter we have given a brief account of the Deities and spirits who are the objects of the Khāriā's worship or propitiation. The rites and ceremonies organized by Khāriā society to enable the individual to face the unknown risks and dangers of each new stage in the cycle of life and to regain confidence when it is shaken by a crisis have been described in previous chapters (VIII-X). In the present chapter we shall describe the religious feasts and festivals which Khāriā society has organized to face the turning-points in the annual round of economic life of the community and to ensure safety and prosperity to the community in its seasonal occupations. These turning-points, which involve unknown risks and dangers, occur when the community passes from one season to another with its appropriate economic pursuit, either hunting or fishing, fruit-gathering and honey-collecting, or ploughing and sowing and reaping. And the entry into the appropriate period for each of these economic pursuits is marked by certain public religious feasts and sacrifices organised by society to face the unforeseen risks and dangers of the new state. These constitute the Public Worship of the Khāriās.

After giving an account of the Public Worship, we shall also describe, in this chapter, the periodical

Private worship, by each Khāriā family, of the Ancestor-spirits, the Supreme Deity or Sun-God, the presiding Spirit of Cattle, and the presiding Spirits of Hills (*Pāṭs*), and other village Deities or spirits, and briefly refer to certain religious or magico-religious rites connected with such important economic undertakings as the building and occupation of a new house, the digging of a new well or tank, the planting out of a garden, and the first handling of a new musical instrument, and the eating of the first fruits of the season.

Religious Feasts and Festivals of the Hill Khāriās.

As may be naturally expected, the Hill Khāriās, with their simpler and ruder economic culture and the comparatively fewer deities and spirits in their pantheon, have a simpler faith and much less elaborate rites and ceremonies than the comparatively more advanced sections of the tribe. As very few Hill Khāriās have yet taken to regular plough cultivation of paddy, the ceremonies and festivals connected with the sowing and transplantation of such lands are only observed by a few individual families and do not come within the category of public festivals. Their public festivals in which the village-priest (*Dihuri* or *Dohuri*) conducts the religious rites are connected mostly with hunting and *jhūm* cultivation. As among other sections of the Khāriās, in every *pūjā*, *Dharam* or the Supreme Deity is first invoked and then the *Iṣṭi Pāṭ* or the tutelary Hill-spirit of the village, and with him are named all other *Pāṭs* or Hill-spirits whose names may occur to the *Dihuri*, and then the village deity or *Grām-devatā* named *Barām* who is in origin a forest spirit. This spirit has been supplanted as a village-deity in

most Hill Khāriā villages in Mayurbhañj by the Earth-Spirit under the Hindu names of *Ṭhākurañi* or *Bāsukimātā* or *Bāsu-mātā* (obviously a corruption of *Basumatī*, the Earth). But in connection with their hunting expeditions, *Bārām* is still invoked and propitiated as a Jungle-spirit by all sections of the Hill Khāriās. As for the Ancestor-spirits, besides receiving libations whenever rice-beer is brewed at any house, and libations and offerings at the *bhitar* of each house by every householder at the time of all public festivals, they are the principal recipients of offerings and libations in all private religious feasts connected with operations for the gathering of honey and the plough-cultivation of paddy and the eating of the first-fruits of the jungle and the fields, and the propitiation of the spirit of the cattle-shed, although the Supreme God (*DHARAM*) and the Hill-spirit (*Pāt*) are also invoked at these festivals.

A short account of the religious feasts and festivals, both public and private, of the Hill Khāriās are given below. It may be noted that there are local variations in the details of the rites and ceremonies, and only the rites and ceremonies more generally observed are noted in the following account.

Public Pūjās of the Hill Khāriās.

1. **The Phāgu or Spring Festival.**—The *Phāgu* festival bears evident traces of its origin in the food-gathering and hunting stage of economic life. This festival, among the Hill Khāriās as among the other two sections of the Khāriās, consists of two parts. One is a ceremonial hunting expedition and the other is the consecration of the first-fruits, the first flowers, and edible leaves and tubers

and other products of the season—before eating or using them. The first part is known as *Pārdhi* or Hunting Festival, and the second as *Ām-nuākhīā* or the Eating of the first-fruits of the Mango.

Pārdhi.—The first part of this Hill Khāriā festival is as follows :—On the day preceding the full-moon day of the month of “*Phāgu*” or *Phālgūn* (February-March), all the adult male Khāriā population of a Hill Khāriā settlement join in a ceremonial hunting expedition. The head of each family, and his wife, remain fasting on that day. In the early morning, all the men assemble with their bows and arrows and axes and, under the leadership of the *Dehuri* or village priest (who has to observe a fast until the following day), start for the expedition. In the absence of the *Dehuri*, a *Siān* or elder of the settlement acts for him. No hunter must carry with him any copper coin or other copper, for if any one does so the expedition, it is believed, will turn out a failure. The hunters leave home early in the morning, unseen, if possible, by others, in order probably to avoid the evil-eye of witches and malicious persons. ⁹²

After leaving the limits of their settlement and before entering the jungle, they make a halt on an open space. The *Dehuri* clears a spot of ground about one cubit square. There all put down their hunting weapons. The *Dehuri* then stands with his face to the east, and in the names of the mountain-spirit (*Pāt*) and the forest-spirit (*Barām*), offers first a libation of water from a gourd-bottle in which water is carried by the party and then a libation of rice-beer on the weapons, and prays

⁹² Compare similar customs among the Ōrōñs. S. C. Roy, *The Ōrōñs of Chōtā-Nāgpur*, P. 231

and vows to the spirits as follows:—"O Thou Pāt! O Thou Barām! Here, I offer libations to you. If we have success in our expedition, we shall give you offerings on our return". Then all take up their respective weapons; each touches his forehead with his weapon and makes reverent salutations to Pāt and then to Barām, and, all enter the jungle to hunt. Towards evening the hunters return from the jungle.

On their way back home they stop for a while on the spot near the boundary between the settlement and the forest, where, on their jungle-ward journey, they had offered libations to Pāt and Barām. There the *Dihuri* now offers a piece of meat (taken from any part of an animal bagged) to the same spirits but facing west. The reason assigned for facing west is that the Sun has by that time moved to the west. This time the weapons are not put down on the ground. Then they return home. At home, the women have all the time kept a fast and engaged themselves, after a bath, in cleaning the huts and everything in them. They now joyfully welcome the hunters, wash their feet and salute them. The game is then divided among the different Khāriā families of the settlement in proportion to the number of members in each family. The hunters then take their bath, and the head of each family offers libations of rice-beer to his Ancestor-spirits. The women also take their bath and cook the evening-meal, of which the meat of the hunted animals forms the main dish. The whole night is spent in singing and dancing, drinking and merry-making.

The good or ill success at the Phāgu hunt is regarded as an augury of the plenty or scarcity of food for

the settlement or village during the ensuing year. On return home of the hunting party, the head of each family offers sun-dried rice (*Kōmsōr rumkūb*) and libations of rice-beer to his Ancestor-spirits in the *O'bhitar*.

(ii) *Ām-Nuākhiā*.—The second part of the *Phāgu* festival among the Hill Khāriās is known as *Phāgu Nawākhiā* or the Eating of the first-fruits in the month of *Phāgun*. In the early morning following the *Phāgu* hunt, the men of the settlement assemble at the sacred grove called *Barām-thān* or *Bāsukī-thān* (according as either *Barām* or *Bāsukī* is regarded as the village-deity in a particular village), with the required fowls and *ātap* (sun-dried) rice. The *Dihuri*, who has remained fasting since the preceding day, goes there after bathing, washes the stones representing the *Barām* spirit or *Bāsukī* or *Basumātā* or *Thākurāṇī* and the *Pāt* spirit and puts down on the ground three small heaps of rice side by side. The *Dihuri* sits down before these rice-heaps with his face to the east. The fowls and a goat or a sheep, if available, purchased with money contributed by the different families of the settlement, are placed by his side. First of all, mango blossoms are offered to the stones representing *Barām* and other spirits. The *Dihuri* sacrifices, first, a white cock to *Dharam*, and a little of its blood is first dropped on the first heap. Then a goat or sheep, if any, is sacrificed to *Barām* (and in some places in Mayurbhañj, to *Barām* and *Bāsukī*, together). Whether a goat or a sheep can be procured or not, a couple of red fowls are always sacrificed on this occasion. While the sacrifices are being made, the *Dihuri* prays for “plenty to eat and drink in the settlement, and immunity from sickness and

other trouble". No separate sacrifice is made to *Pāt*; but the *Pāt* spirit is named along with *Barām*. In some settlements, however, a mischievous spirit called *Kālā Kudrā* is also offered a black cock.

After these general sacrifices of fowls and goat or sheep purchased with money raised by subscription in the settlement for the benefit of the entire settlement, the *Dihuri* also sacrifices fowls brought by individual Khāriās who had vowed such sacrifices to secure relief from some sickness or other calamity in their respective families. The *Dihuri* receives as his perquisite the heads of the sacrificed animal and fowls. The rest of the meat is divided amongst all. Individuals who bring fowls to sacrifice for their own benefit, take away the trunks of their respective fowls. The mango-blossoms offered to *Barām* are distributed amongst all. It is only after this festival that the Khāriās of the settlement may collect and eat new fruits, vegetables, edible leaves and tubers of the season.

2. Jeṭh Nawā Khīā—The only other public *Pūjā* of the Hill Khāriās partakes of the nature of both a public festival and a private worship. Although originally, it would appear, communal worship preceded private worship, this festival appears to illustrate the development of a private *Pūjā* into a public *Pūjā*. Though primarily connected with honey-gathering or rather with the ceremonial tasting of the first honey of the year, it is now also connected with *jhūm* cultivation, thus illustrating the occurrence of changes or modifications in institutions and rites in accompaniment to changes in economic life. In its relation to honey-gathering, it is a private

festival celebrated in the houses of individual Khāriās. The head of the family remains fasting from morning till noon. At noon he bathes and then, at the corner of the cooking-apartment consecrated to his Ancestor-spirits, offers a libation of rice-beer and of a few drops of the new honey of the season. Cooked rice is also offered, and the man prays,—“O Ye So-and-So, So-and-So, *etc.* (names his deceased ancestors)! Do ye protect us from sickness and sorrow. May we have plenty of honey and other food. We are offering you your due share”. Then a libation of water is poured on the ground and the man bows down on the ground to his Ancestor-spirits.

This festival, known as *Jeth-Nawākhiā*, is essentially the ceremony of eating the “first-fruits” of the honey-combs. But it is also the only festival among the Hill-Khāriās intended to help them in their rude *Jhūming* agriculture and, in that light, it is also their sowing festival. The village-priest (*Dihuri*) observes fast since the previous day. On the morning of the *Pūjā*-day, a small rectangular or square bit of ground on the native hill or hill-slope is cleaned and besmeared with cowdung diluted in water. Then the *Dihuri* places marks of vermilion (*sindūr*) in three parallel rows of three marks in each row. Then he puts some sun-dried rice on each *sindūr* mark. Sometimes flowers are also placed there. A white cock is made to feed on the rice upon the central *sindūr*-mark. Then, facing the rising Sun (east), the *Dihuri* cuts its neck with a knife and drops its blood over the rice on the central *sindūr* mark. This fowl is sacrificed in the name of *Dharam* with a prayer to send down sufficient rain for the growth of the crops. A red cock is next sacrificed with the

same rites to *Pāt* ; and, in doing so, the *Dihuri* names first the *Iṣṭā-Pāt* or tutelary *Pāt* of his own village and then names all other *Pāts* or Hill-spirits of his country whose names occur to him, and prays that the crops of the settlement may not be destroyed by wild animals and that weeds may not multiply and retard the growth of the crops. The *Dihuri* then makes offerings of *ātap* (sun-dried) rice to the *Barām* spirit at the *Barām-thān* or *Barām-sāl*, and a fowl, if available, is also sacrificed to *Barām*. On the stone representing *Barām*, vermilion marks are also placed by the *Dihuri*. The cost of the sacrifices are met by subscriptions raised in the village. After this public sacrifice every Hill Khāriā who has *jhūm* cultivation generally sacrifices a white cock at his own house to *Dharam*, and every Khāriā, as already stated, offers a few drops of the new honey of the season and libations of rice-beer to his Ancestor-spirits at their sacred tabernacle by the side of the family hearth.

After this, again, when an individual Khāriā first goes to his field to sow *Rāmākali* seeds, he cleans a spot on the field and pours a libation of water to his tutelary *Pāt*-spirit and prays for success in his cultivation. This is called *Bichi Pūjā*.

Private Pūjās of the Hill Khāriās.

1. **Karam Pūjā.**— Although we begin our account of the private *Pūjās* of the Hill Khāriās with the Karam festival, it is neither a genuine festival of the Khāriās nor is it regarded as of much account. It partakes somewhat of the character of a public festival, although it is celebrated at the expense of individual families.

It appears to be a festival borrowed by the Khāriās from their Hinduised or Hindu neighbours of what are generally known as the lower castes.

This festival is now celebrated by the Hill Khāriās on some date either towards the middle or end of the month of *Bhādra* and not necessarily, as among Hindu castes, on the eleventh day of the moon in the month of *Bhādra* (August-September). Young men cut down and carry two branches of the *Karam* (*Nauclea parvifolia*) tree, either to the village dancing-ground (as is generally the case when the expenses are borne by a number of families) or on the *āngan* or court-yard of the house of a particular family at whose expense it is celebrated. The village Dihuri's services are requisitioned for the *Pūjā*. He takes a bath and proceeds to the place where the *Karam* branches have been installed and festooned with wreaths of flowers. There he places a handful of *ātap* rice on the ground before the *Karam* branches, sacrifices a fowl of any colour or, if available, a goat, drops its blood on the rice, and prays to *Dharam* and *Pāt* for general prosperity. The whole night is spent by both men and women in singing and dancing and drinking rice-beer. Next morning the *Karam* branches are carried in procession with drumming and singing and thrown into a stream or tank.

It is interesting to note that whereas the Hindu and Hinduised castes and even the Mūṇḍās⁹³ who celebrate this festival make offerings of milk, *ghee*, and rice-flour bread (and no animal sacrifices) to the deities at this festival, the Hill Khāriās offer animal sacrifices.

93. See *The Mundas and Their Country* p.478.

2. **Dhān Nuākhiā, or Eating the First-fruits of Jhūm cultivation.**—Generally on the day following the *Karam*, festival, Khāriā families who have any *jhūm* cultivation observe the ceremony of eating the first fruits of *Rāmā-kali* and upland paddy (if any). The kitchen is cleaned with cowdung diluted in water. New *Rāmā-kali* and, in some families, new rice are cooked in a new earthen pot and offerings of these and libations of rice-beer are made by the head of the family to the Ancestor-spirits at their seat in the kitchen. Libations of rice-beer and offerings of new rice are also made to *Barām* at his seat in the *Barām-sāl* of the village, and a vermilion mark is applied to the stone representing the *Barām*-spirit there. In some villages (as in villages Kuāṭoli and Ārposi in the Mayurbhañj State) where *Bāsūkī* or *Bāsūmātā* or *Ṭhākūrāñī*, in place of *Barām*, is worshipped as the village-deity, the offerings are made at the *Ṭhākūrāñī-sāl*, and a mark of vermilion is applied to the stone representing *Ṭhākūrāñī*. The *Barām-thān* or the *Ṭhākūrāñī-sāl* is generally situated outside the settlement under a *Jāri* or *Aswattha* (*Ficus Indica*) tree or a mango tree or some other large tree or clump of trees.

3 **Harvest Festival** (*Sūñṭi Pūjā*).—On the day that a Hill Khāriā starts reaping his crop he must first offer sacrifices to the spirits. His threshing-floor is cleaned with cowdung diluted in water, and *Methi* or Fenugreek (*Fænum Græcum*) seeds are sprinkled over the ground, and vermilion marks are placed on it, sun-dried (*ātap*) rice is placed on three spots side by side. Some also pour a little milk on the ground and place a bit of hemp and one or more betel-nuts by

the side of the rice. Three fowls,—one white, one red and another black,—are, one after another, made to peck at the rice and are sacrificed to Dharam, Pāt, and other village deities respectively. While doing so, the sacrificer prays for prosperity throughout the ensuing year. The blood of the fowl is poured over the rice.

4. **Pous Pūjā or Akhan Yātra.**—On the day preceding the last day of the month of *Pous* (about the middle of December) the head of every Hill Khāriā family offers boiled rice, rice-flour cakes, and rice-beer to the Ancestor-spirits at the kitchen which has been cleaned with cowdung and water. A Khāriā who can afford to do so also sacrifices a fowl and offers its blood and meat to them. While making the offerings and sacrifices he prays to the Ancestor-spirits for the health and well-being of the members of the family. The day following is spent in eating and drinking, dancing and singing. It is believed that if this *Pūjā* is omitted (except when the family is under a taboo) some member of the family may be afflicted with insanity. No religious festival can, however, be celebrated by a family during a period of birth-taboo or death-taboo.

5. **Gōṭ Pūjā, or Pasturage Sacrifice.**—Hill Khāriās who own cattle, observe this *Pūjā* on the new moon day in the month of Kārtik (October-November). A small bit of land on the grazing-ground is cleaned with cowdung and water, and over it *methi* or fenugreek seeds are sprinkled and a spot is anointed with vermilion and over it is placed some *ātap* rice. A hen's egg is then offered on this rice in the names of *Pāt* and the

village-deity, *Barām* or *Bāsūmātā*, as the case may be, and the owner of cattle prays that his cattle may prosper and have plenty of fodder and immunity from the attack of wild animals. And a vow is taken of similar offerings again after a year, if all goes well and nothing un-toward happens.

6. Gohāl-Pūjā, or Cattle-shed Sācrifices.— The day following the *Gōṭ Pūjā*, sacrifices are offered by the Khāriā owner of cattle to the village-spirits and to God for the well-being of the cattle. The cattle-shed is swept and then cleaned with cow-dung and water. The master of the family, who has remained fasting, takes a bath and then sacrifices a white cock to *Dharam*, a red fowl to *Barām* or to *Thākūrāṇī*, as the principal Village-spirit may be variously called in different villages, and, in some places, a black fowl to *Kālā kūdrā*. While offering the sacrifice, he prays and vows future sacrifices as in the *Gōṭ-Pūjā*.

7. Pūjā for Honey-gathering.— An important occupation of the Hill Khāriās is the collection of honey. There is danger in this occupation from the stings of the honey-bees as also from the general steepness of the hill-sides where the hives are found, and there is always the risk of disappointment as sometimes the bees make off with the honey, leaving the hive empty. Therefore the favour of *Pāt* or the Mountain-spirit has to be secured. And this is done by the head of the party offering to that spirit, before they begin their honey-gathering operations, oblations of water, and, as soon as the first comb is collected, again offering a little of its honey to *Pāt*.

[A] **Public worship of the Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās.**

1. Festivals and Sacrifices connected with Food-gathering and Hunting:

(1) *The Jānkōr Pūjā or Phāgu Festival.*

The Dūdh Khāriās and Dhelki Khāriās have long outgrown the purely food-gathering and hunting stage of economic life. But even these comparatively advanced sections of the tribe, though less frequently than the primitive Hill Khāriās, still supplement the produce of their fields at times with edible fruits, flowers, leaves, and tubers of the forest. The corolla of the *mūrūn* or *mohuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) is still a valued article of food with all sections of the Khāriās, and its fruit supplies them with oil, and from its flowers an intoxicating liquor is distilled. The *śāl* fruit is steamed or boiled and eaten. The *śāl* and the *mohuā* are the most characteristic trees of the jungles and uplands of the Khāriā country. And to this day, Khāriās of all sections celebrate a religious festival in the month of *Phālgun* (February-March) when the *śāl* tree and the *mohuā* tree are in flower. This spring festival is known as the *Jānkōr* or *Phāgu* festival.

Now, the most interesting point about it is this: With the Hill Khāriās who have not yet completely out-grown the food-gathering and hunting stage of economic culture, the *Phāgu* festival is both a food-gathering and a hunting festival in which the *Pāṭ* and *Barām*,—the spirits of the Mountain and of the Forest,—are propitiated. The Dūdh Khāriās and the Dhelki Khāriās who have long out-grown the hunting and gathering stage still retain this festival and make offerings of jungle fruits and the first-fruits of the *mohuā*

or *murun* and *śāl* trees to the *Bāghiā* spirits (spirits of persons devoured by tigers) and *Khūñt-dāñt* spirits, and pray not for success in hunting but for protection of their cattle (mostly plough-cattle) from the wild beasts of the forest. The *Bāghiā* and *Khūñt-dāñt* spirits are now village-spirits and at the Phāgu festival, the Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās, besides offering jungle fruits to them, sacrifice fowls, and go through a mimetic magic rite of throwing water over men and houses and house-tops, with the object of attracting from the heavens sufficient rain for their agricultural operations. So far as these comparatively advanced sections of the Khāriās are concerned, the only trace of a ceremony connected with food-gathering and hunting is that until this festival is celebrated, a Khāriā may not pluck or eat the new vegetables and fruits of the season, and that new *śāl* blossoms and some jungle fruits are offered to the spirits at this festival, and all eat the first-fruits of *mohuā*. The only trace of its connection with a hunting festival is that on the day preceding the festival some Khāriās go out in a body for a ceremonial hunt. The Dūdh Khāriās have further adopted from their Hindu and Hinduised neighbours the custom of burning a sapling or branch of the *semar* or *simul* (*Bombax Malabaricum*) which they plant on an open space and wind round with straw and anoint with vermilion. They have further assimilated the Phāgu festival so closely with the *Sarhul* festival of the Mūṇḍās and the Orāṇs of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, that the Khāriās call their own festival indifferently as either "Jānkōr" or "Sarhul" or "Phāgu" (*Bā* in Mūṇḍāri, *Khaddi* in Orāṇ).

With the Hill Khāriās, the Phāgu festival, as we have seen, has remained to this day a purely Hunting and Food-gathering Festival. As the Hill Khāriās have a feeble social organisation, their religious organization is equally rudimentary; and so their Phāgu festival, as we have seen, consists of the barest ritual of offerings, sacrifices, prayers and libations to the spirits of the Hill and the Forest and to the Ancestor-spirits, and the observance of certain taboos.

The Dūdh Khāriās and the Dhelki Khāriās, too, celebrate the *Jānkōr* or *Phāgu* festival, on the first day by a ceremonial hunt in the day-time and a ceremonial hut-burning accompanied by sacrifices that night, and on the following day by sacrifices at the sacred grove of the village. Now-a-days, sacrifices or offerings and other ritual which used to accompany this ceremonial hunting not long ago are being neglected and the Phāgu Hunt is only undertaken as an effete relic of a former practice.

Ceremonial Hunting.—The ceremonial hunting (*Lām-lām*) has been very much simplified by the Dūdh and the Dhelki sections of the tribe. The day before the *Jānkōr* Festival, only some young men and a few adult men go out, early in the morning, to hunt in the jungles with their bows and arrows, and axes. They may not take with them any copper coin or indeed anything made of copper, which is strictly taboo on such an occasion to the Khāriā as to some other neighbouring tribes like the Mūṇḍās and the Ōrāoṇs. The party return home in the evening after taking their bath on the way. The mistress of the household also takes a bath at about sunset. On their return home the hunters have their feet

washed by the women. Rice-beer is strained and made ready for use. First of all, libations of rice-beer are offered in two leaf-cups to the Ancestor-spirits at the *O'bhitar* or sacred tabernacle near the hearth in each house by the head of the family. That day a few members of some Dūdh Khārīā families also go out on a ceremonial fishing expedition; and at night each family consume plenty of rice-beer. In fact, rice-beer and the meat of the game and fish, if any, caught that day form their only drink and food that night. The master and mistress of each Khārīā family observe a fast and strict sexual continence that day and night.

Hut-burning.—That day a few young men also cut down and bring to the village with songs and dances an *erendī* or castor plant (*Palmā Christi*) or, if available, the branch of a *Semar* or cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) and plant it in the middle of the village road. A small *kūmbā* or straw-shed is erected round the plant or branch. After evening-meal, the villagers led by the village-priest (*Kālō* or *Pāhān*) and his assistant (*Pājār*) come up there, dancing, singing and drumming. People suffering from diseases bring with them each some thatching-grass (*ōlōng*). The priest and his assistant take the votive fowls and other ingredients for the ceremony into the *kūmbā*. A small part of the floor of the *kūmbā* is cleaned with cowdung diluted with water. On this spot the priest arranges *āruā* rice (*kōmsōr rūmkūb*) in as many small heaps (*kuris*) as there are fowls to be sacrificed. An egg is placed on the first heap. The priest lights the wick jutting out of a leaf-cup containing a little *ghee* (clarified butter), and throws frankincense, *ghee*, and

molasses on live coals placed by the side of the rice-heaps. Standing with his face to the east, the priest then pours on the ground from a leaf-cup some *āruā* rice by way of offering to the Sun-God (*Dharam*), and taking in his hands a white cock raises it three times to his forehead by way of obeisance, and each time lowers the fowl again to the ground. When the fowl is finally put down on the ground, the priest drops a few grains of rice over its head for it to pick up. While the fowl pecks at the rice-grains and eats one or two grains, he cuts off its head with a knife and places the head by the side of the egg, and holds the trunk over the rice-heap so as to let the blood trickle down on the rice. The other fowls are similarly sacrificed to the village-spirits. And no sooner is this done than the *Pūjāri* who was standing with an axe in his hand just at the door-way of the *kūmbā* sets fire to it, and the priest, after pouring milk from a jug over the *Pūjā*-offerings, quickly quits the shed. The men holding thatching-grass in their hands cast them into the flames praying that their maladies may be consumed by the holy fire. The *Pūjāri* hacks down the *erendi* plant or *semar* branch, as the case may be, into pieces with his axe, and some of the men present rush to get hold of a piece each. This sanctified piece of *erendi* or of *semar* wood is believed to ward off lightening, and is therefore placed on the roof of some Khāriā houses just over the door-way.

The Jānkōr Pūjā.—As for the main *Jānkōr* or *Phāgū Pūjā* held on the following morning at the sacred grove variously called *Jānkōr*, *Jhānkar*, or *Sarnā* of the village, it is a more elaborate festival among the Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās than the Phāgu festival of the

Hill Khāriās. Its original nature as a food-gathering festival has been overlaid with ceremonies designed to secure divine help for agricultural operations.

This festival, as celebrated by the Dūdh Khāriās and Dhelki Khāriās, is as follows:—In the month of *Phālgun* (February-March) when this *Jānkōr Pūjā* is celebrated, the *śāl* (*Shorea robusta*) and mango trees are in blossom. As in all public *pūjās*, the *Kālō* and his assistant, the *Pūjār*, must remain fasting. They fast during night on the full-moon day of the month.

On the following morning the *Kālō* and the *Pūjār* take their bath and go to the sacred grove (*Jānkōr*) for worship, and all male villagers follow them, some carrying fowls, *āruā* rice, *etc.* The *Kālō* carries in a winnowing basket some *āruā* rice, *śāl* flowers, *Mahuā* flowers, *etc.* The *Pūjār* and others carry a pot of rice-beer, a new earthen jar full of water, some incense and live charcoal, molasses, *ghee*, and an axe.

A spot in front of one or more sacred stones representing the presiding spirits of the settlement, (*Khūñt*, *Bāghīā*, *etc.*) placed under a *śāl* (*Shorea robusta*) or a *mūrūn* or *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) tree is cleaned with cow-dung diluted in water. The *Kālō* sits down facing east in front of the stones representing the village-spirits, and some burning charcoal is placed before him. He sprinkles molasses and incense over the burning charcoal and prays to the village-spirits as follows:—

Hē-dō Khūnt Bāghīā ām-tē musā āmā' pūjā-sewā karāeting.

(O Khūnt Bāghīā ! To Thee to-day Thy worship-service I am doing.)
Murun, jārā luā jhāri luku-tē ing musā āma nīmī-bōng musā jāng-
 (Mahuā, bar, fig, all fruits, I to-day thy name-in to-day Phagu)
kōr tādēding. Amā' pūjā-sewā karāeting. Ore'ing,
 ([pūjā] I am doing. Thy worship-service I am doing. Bullook.)

bōntel, merōm, lebu, jhāri-se kīnir, jhankōe, kīro, banai-kitāe
 (buffalo, goat, men, them-all, jungle, brush-wood, tiger, bear, them-from,)
bānchāem
 (do ye protect,)

"O Ye, Khūṇṭ and Bāghiā spirits ! To-day I am offering sacrifices. To-day in your name I am offering to you *mahuā, bar*, fig,—all these fruits. I am worshipping you. Do ye protect [our] bullocks, buffaloes, goats, men, *etc.*, in jungle and brushwood, from tigers and bears."

Then he puts down five small heaps of *āruā* rice before him and besmears the *Jhānkar* stones with vermilion. Then he washes the feet of five fowls, one after another, with water, and makes each fowl peck up rice-grains from the five heaps of rice respectively. He then stands up facing the east and holding the fowls in his hands, and repeats the former prayer again.

Then one of the fowls is let loose in the name of the *Bāghiā* spirit. Then the *Kālō* sacrifices the remaining four fowls, one after another, with an iron axe and drops the blood on the ground over the rice-heaps before the stone representing "*Khūṇṭ-ḍāṇṭ*". The *Kālō* next bows down five times, kneeling on the ground, before the stones. The *Pūjār* pours water on the head and on the joined palms of the *Kālō's* hands. The *Kālō* drops the water with the joined palms of his hands before the stones and bows down and touches his fore-head with his joined palms five times.

While the *Kālō* is thus engaged, rice is boiled in a new earthen pot beside him; and to this he also attends occasionally. The liver and head of the sacrificed fowls are also cooked at the spot and eaten by the *Kālō* and the *Pūjār*. Next, the *Kālō* takes up four handfuls

of boiled rice and places them on the four sides of the improvised hearth, and again bows down five times before the hearth. He then eats five morsels of boiled rice. Each time, after eating a morsel of rice, he drinks a little water from the leaf-cup.

He then drinks the sanctified rice-beer (*tapōan hāṇḍi*), and the others present drink ordinary rice-beer. Then the Kālō is taken up on the shoulders by a robust man and carried from house to house all over the village. He is followed by the Pūjār with 'sāl (*Shorea robusta*), *Dhanṭhā* (*Grislea tomentosa*), and *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers in a winnowing-basket. These flowers generally gathered by the Kālō on the previous day are brought to the sacred grove (*Sarnā* or *Jhānkar*). One or two persons carry two jars of water, and they and other villagers accompany the party from house to house. As the party reaches each house, the mistress of the house comes out and the Kālō throws some water on a part of her cloth which she stretches out to hold the water. She sprinkles this water inside the hut and over the roof of the house. This is a ceremony of mimetic magic done with a view to attract plenty of rain. Then the Kālō gives her some flowers from his winnowing basket, and in return for this the Kālō is given one or two *annās* in cash, besides rice-beer to drink. Finally the Kālō pours some water on the head of the mistress of the house saying "*bāriṣo*", i. e., "*Māy rain fall*". The flowers and water given by the Kālō to each villager are regarded as calculated to bring blessings to the house. The same process is repeated at each house; and finally the Kālō is carried to his own house followed by the party. Then his wife and,

in her absence, his son's wife or some other female member of his house comes out and washes and anoints his legs and feet. Here he is not paid anything but is given rice-beer to drink. On this occasion Khāriās invite one another to drink rice-beer and eat the first *mūrūn* or *mahuā* fruits at their houses. On this day, every head of a Khāriā household offers sacrifices or offerings of rice and oblations of rice-beer to the spirits of his deceased ancestors.

It is only from after the celebration of this festival that the new *mūrūn* or *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers and also new *śāl* flowers of the season may be used by the Khāriās. That day every Khāriā householder also offers special sacrifices to his Ancestor-spirits in his *O'bhitar* or sacred seat of the Ancestor-spirits near the hearth. The master of the house takes his bath in the morning and gathers some flowers of the *śāl*, *mohuā*, and *dhāoāi*. A few of these flowers are inserted in the front rafters of the house. Then the mistress of the house goes to the village-spring with an earthen-ware pitcher and, after bathing, fills her pitcher with water which she carries home. The head of the family strains out rice-beer and takes a potful of it as also flowers of the *śāl*, *mahuā* and *dhāoāi* and a grey fowl to the *O'bhitar*. There he sacrifices to the Ancestor-spirits the fowl by fisting it to death, and also offers the flowers and the rice-beer besides loaves of rice-flour bread or cake prepared for the occasion. Then he eats a piece of the sacrificial bread and drinks a leaf-cup-ful of the sacrificial beer. The remaining sacrificial meat and other offerings are distributed among the other members of the family. The head of the sacrificed fowl is scorched in fire, and,

when the skin is burnt, cut into slices, wrapped up in *śāl* leaves and roasted in the fire. The roasted head and the heart (*kārji*) of the sacrificed fowl are offered to the Ancestor-spirits, and the meat thus sanctified is then eaten by the head of the family. Other members of the family eat the rest of the sacrificial meat.

(II). Festivals connected with Agriculture.

The Hill Khāriās generally have not yet taken to regular agriculture but practise, so far as they can, the rude form of cultivation known as *Jhūming*. And so, as we have seen, they have only a sowing festival celebrated before the first seeds of *Ramā-kalai* (*Phaseolus*) are sown in the month of *Jaisīha* (May-June), and, also a first-fruits-festival in the month of *Bhādo* (August). The other sections of the tribe who practise regular plough-cultivation have some agricultural festivals at the beginning and termination of every stage of their agricultural operations. Thus they have the *Bā'-Bid'n-Bid'n* or Sowing ceremony in *Jeth* (May-June); the *Rōṇol* or *Bangāri* or transplantation ceremony in *Āṣārḥ* (June-July); the *Kadlōṭā* which is the ceremony held in September when rice grains, forming in the green paddy-plants, stand in danger of being destroyed by birds and beasts and other pests; the *Tōlō Pūjā* or harvest ceremony in November-December; and the *Nyōḷem Nyonā* ceremony for the eating of the first-fruits in the month of *Bhādō* (August-September). We shall proceed to give an account of each of these festivals :—

(1) The Sowing Festival (*Bā'-Bid'n-Bid'n Pūjā*).

'*Bā*' is the Khāriā word for paddy or rice, and the word '*Bid*' or '*Bidn*' means 'to sow'. Thus, '*Bā'-Bidn-Bidn*'

means 'Sowing paddy'. In the month of *Ba'-bidn'-bidn'* or sowing-month: (May-June) the *Bā'-bidn'-bidn'* or sowing-ceremony is first performed by the Kālō or village priest. The Kālō announces the date of the ceremony. This is the first day of the year when *Keōñd* (*Drosyros melanoxylon*) leaves may be plucked and cups may be prepared of *Keōñd* leaves.

For the night preceding the appointed day, the Kālō remains fasting. At early morning before the Sun has risen he takes his bath and offers five fowls (red, white, black, spotted, and grey) to the *Khūñt-l'āt* or *Khūñt-Dāñt* Spirits in his own house. He then takes paddy-seeds in a small new basket and goes silently to the *Pāhānāi* land, or land set apart for defraying the expenses of the public religious festivals. No one may see or look at him; and even if he happens to see any one he must not talk to him. On reaching the *Pāhānāi* field he scatters five or seven handfuls of seeds on a portion of the field ploughed beforehand and returns home in silence, after ploughing the field himself or leaving one of his ploughmen to plough the field. When the Kālō and his companions have returned from the field, he offers rice-beer to his Ancestor-spirits at the door of his kitchen and prays :—

Hē qō! phalnū Būrhā' Hē qō phalni Kanqāebō'
 (Here! Such-and-such an old man! Here! Such-and-Such an old woman!)
Āmbār-te bābithoej jē āmbārte ambrā nimi bōn enem ĩtūn
 (You both I sow—so you both your name-in without complaint)
jānkorting Kundū hākon kūtē lai-kusu bōkob kusu ābu hoe-gūrū.
 (I sacrifice. children-to stomach-ache head-ache not happen let.)

Translation :—"O! So-and-so (names), old men (Ancestor.) and old women (Ancestresses)! In your names, I am sowing paddy. I ungrudgingly offer sacri-

fices to you. May not my children suffer from stomach-ache and head-ache (i. e. any disease or ailment)".

Then all drink and eat. Then the same ceremony is performed by every individual cultivator on his own field and in his own house, on any later day that suits him.

(2). Transplantation Festival: Ronol, or Bāngārī (Hindi)

The *Bāngārī* or transplantation ceremony is performed first by the Kālō on the Pāhānāi land on some appointed day in the beginning of the month of *Sāwan* (July-August). Five fowls of different colours (red, grey, speckled, white, and black) are offered to *Khūñt-Pāt* (the *Khūñt* and *Pāt*) spirits at the Kālō's house.

In it the same ritual is followed and similar prayers offered as in the *Ba'-bidn'-bidn'* ceremony, except that in this festival instead of sowing paddy seeds the Kālō transplants five sheaves or *bāns* (of two or three seedlings each) of paddy-seedlings on a portion of his 'Pāhānāi' land. Before planting them, he offers on a small depression made in the mud of the field a small quantity of *māsō* (*Phaseolus roxburghii*), *kūrthi* (*dolichos biflorus*), *jātāngi* (*Guizota Abyssinica*), *bāngur* or wild-cotton seeds, and dried *mūrūn* (*bassia latifolia*) flowers, and plants the five sheaves side by side. Then his people or labourers transplant paddy-seedlings on the rest of this field. It is only after this ceremonial transplantation of the Kālō's field that other villagers may transplant their fields. That day the Kālō treats people with drink at his house.

(3) Kadletā Festival.

The word *Kadletā* is the corrupt form of a Hindi word composed of "*Kādō*" meaning 'mud', and '*lōtā*' or '*letā*' meaning 'lying down' or 'flouncing,' probably because the fields are made full of mud for transplantation. On the first half of the month of *Goḷā-jerib* (September-October), the *Kadlōtā* or *Kadletā pūjā* is performed by the *Kālō* at the village *Jānkōr* or *Sarnā*. This is the time when the upland (*gōṭā*) paddy is first harvested, and the wet-paddy fields are green with transplanted paddy.

As usual, the *Kālō* and the *Pūjār* remain fasting since the night preceding the *Kadletā Pūjā*. In the early morning, the *Kālō* and the *Pūjār* arrive at the *Sarnā* with a winnowing basket, some new rice grains, *Bhelwā* (*Semicarpus anacardium*) twigs, *Mahudeo jaṭā* creepers, an axe and other necessary requirements for the ceremony. The villagers assemble there, each with a fowl, *Keoṇḍ* (*Diospyros Tomentosā*) twigs and *bhelwā* (*Semicarpus anacardium*) branches. Then the *Kālō* offers fowls to the *Khūṇṭ-Pāṭ* in the *Sarnā*. Generally at least twelve fowls are offered. He follows the same ritual as in the *Jānkōr* or *Phāgu* festival and, when the ceremony is over, the *Kālō* is carried on the shoulders of some one to his house. There the *Kālō*'s wife washes his feet with water. But he is not, as in the "Phāgu" festival, carried from house to house, nor is water sprinkled over his head.

Before the villagers depart from the *Sarnā*, each cultivator takes a little sanctified rice in a leaf-cup and plants one or more sanctified *keoṇḍ*-twigs and *bhelwā* twigs in

his fields to ward off mischief to the crops from the evil eye and other pests.

On that day, the Kālō alone in the village eats fowls' meat and rice-beer prepared from new rice.

The next day the festival known as *Ñyō-ḍem* or *Ñyōḍem-Ñyōnā* or the feast of the first-fruits is celebrated by every family in the village (including the Kālō's).

(4) *Ñyō-ḍem, or Ñyōḍem Ñeonā.*

A few days before the day fixed for the *Ñyō-ḍem* ceremony rice-beer is set to brew for the purpose. Early in the morning the mistress of the house takes a bath and, with her wet clothes on, boils in a new earthen pot new rice in order to brew rice-beer with. She brews this separately and keeps it for use during the *Ñyō-ḍem* ceremony. She then puts on new clothes and pounds new rice for making rice-cakes with for the ceremony. No Khāriā may eat new rice before the public *Ñyō-ḍem* ceremony and before offering new rice to his own Ancestor-spirits in the sacred tabernacle (*Kōñlō* or *O'bhitar*) of his own house.

Early on the morning of the day of the feast, the mistress of the house cleans the floor of her house by smearing it with cowdung diluted in water, while her husband or some other elderly member of the family brings three leafy branches of the *bhelwā* or marking-nut tree. Then all the members of the family go to the village stream or tank or spring for their bath, and the head of the family returns home with bundles of paddy-stalks from his field, and some female member of each house brings a new earthen-vessel filled with water from the stream or spring or tank. The man takes

out from the bundles a few paddy-stalks suitable for the sacrificial rites, and hands over the rest to some female member to prepare into parched rice. The mistress of the house also prepares four cakes made of flour of the new rice for the sacrificial rites. Then the head of the family takes up a winnowing-basket on which are placed several *bhelwā* leaf-cups, containing respectively husks of *gōrā* (upland) paddy, sun-dried rice, rice-flour, rice-beer, rice-cakes, parched rice, molasses, incense, and a small quantity of live coal, and goes out of the house followed by other members of the family who carry three *bhelwā* branches, and three fowls,—one white cock, one red cock, and one speckled hen. Two of the *bhelwā* branches are planted at the entrance of the house and the other branch is carried to the place of sacrifice at the back of the house.

The master of the house or, in his absence, some *Siān* or elderly male member of the family performs the sacrifice. He sits with his face to the east, in a suitable spot at the back of the house, and besmears a bit (about one cubit square) of the ground with cow-dung and water, and on it plants the *bhelwā* branch. Then at its foot he puts down the leaf-cup containing rice-husks, and to its right the live coal, and to its left the winnowing-basket with the other sacrificial ingredients on it. Over the rice-husks he now puts some live coal and a lighted wick, and sprinkles on the burning coal the incense and molasses and *ghee* by way of burnt offering. By the side of the rice-husks are also placed as offerings one of the rice-cakes and some parched rice. Now a libation of rice-beer is poured, and he prays to the Supreme God addressed as *Beṛō-Lerāng*, as follows:—

Hē Berō-Lerāng ! Ingtē sāl-bhaerā ām bā terōb.
 O Sun-Moon ! To me for-the-year Thou [hast given] paddy-grains)
Hināghādāh' āmā pūjā karāeting. Āmtē jōhārtīng."
 (For this thy pūjā I-am-making. To Thee I am making-obeisance).

[Translation]

"O Sun-Moon (God), Thou hast given me paddy sufficient for the year. For this I am offering these sacrifices and making obeisance to Thee".

The Kālō repeats this prayer each time while offering five successive libations of rice-beer. Then he sprinkles molasses and incense on the burning coal and prays to his Ancestor-spirits as follows:—

"Hē dō Phalnā Burhā ! Phalnī Kāndāebō ! Ambrāntijā būng.
 (Here! So-and-so old man ! So-and-so old woman ! Your all honour-in)
Ōjōdem Ōjōntej dīng āmpā nīm-bōn Ing mogher singkōe
 (First-fruits I am eating. Your names-in I black hen)
sūngudīng. Hēdō Ōsejā' dūlūng āmbārtē terōj' āmbārgā
 (shall sacrifice. Here serious offence to both of you. I gave you both)
māt āpā, hīlūng āmbō dūlūng āmbō; khūsīdā aonā-bār.
 (father mother indeed complain not offence not ; in-happiness remain.)
Āmbrā' tae inj terlūng-tājding, Āmpā pūjā sewā karāekōn.
 (You-from I owe [thanks] your worship service after performing.)
Āmbārtējō kūdū-hākōn kitāe māhā konon-tāe jō bikur
 (You-to children from elder-younger also inferior-from)
umbo' ba'-ko moinj jo umbo' ābu hōāthōn purā khūsi
 (not rice one even none on that account to us)
dūkho ābu hoe-guru.
 (misery not may-happen.)"

Translation:—"Here! Do thou accept, O So-and-so (names) old man and So-and-so (names) old woman! In your names, I am eating the first-fruits of the season. In your names I shall sacrifice a black hen. Here, take it:—I committed grave offence against you. You are my parents. Do not complain or be offended, but be pleased with us. I owe ye thanks. Worshipping and serving you, I regard you not less dear than

my own children or my elders. There is no rice in our fields: Let us not suffer misery on that account”.

Then he takes up the white cock and feeds it on a few grains of *āruā* rice from one of the three small heaps of it placed before him. Then he sacrifices the white fowl in the name of *Pōnōmōsōr* and drops its blood over the heap of *āruā* rice on which it was grazed. Similarly he offers the red cock and the speckled hen and drops their blood on the other two heaps of rice in the name of *Ḍāñi* *Masān* or the collective body of such of his dead ancestors as have not been ceremonially brought back into the house, but wander about in the uplands (*Ḍāñi* or *ānkal*).

He next offers libations of rice-beer and prays again and then salutes five times before the heaps of *āruā*-rice smeared with sacrificial blood, and again before the *bhelwā* branch, and finally drinks the rice-beer left in the leaf-cup.

Then he gathers up all the *Pūjā* articles and takes them up on his winnowing basket and sprinkles water on its contents. He binds the five paddy-stalks together in a sheaf with a leaf of the marking-nut or *bhelwā*, immerses the sheaf in a mixture of rice-flour and water and sprinkles the rice-flour mixture over the *bhelwā* branches planted at the entrance of the house and also all over the house.

Then the master of the house bathes again and proceeds to offer sacrifices to the “House-spirits” or *Māri-Masān* who are the spirits of deceased ancestors whose shades were called back to the house after death. The sacrificer goes inside the house and in the usual manner

sacrifices two fowls (a red cock and a speckled hen) and offers some *āruā* rice, some *chiñṛā* or parched rice, two rice-flour cakes and a jar of rice-beer. Squatting on the floor, with his face to the east, he pours a libation of rice-beer and takes up a handful of *āruā* rice and invokes *Māri-Masān* or the Ancestor-spirits (naming those ancestors whose names he remembers) as follows:—
 “O *Māri-Masān*! Look ye! We never forget you. Do ye protect us always against diseases and other calamities”. He then arranges some *āruā* rice in two small heaps, and while the fowls are pecking at one of the two heaps, he cuts off their heads, spills the blood on the rice-heaps, and casts aside the trunks. The severed heads are placed over the rice-heaps, on which are placed a piece of bread and some *chiñṛā*, and on each is poured a little rice-beer. Then the head and liver of the sacrificed fowls are roasted and a bit of this roasted meat is offered to the Ancestor-spirits, and the man prays as follows:—

Hē-ḍō phalnā Būṛhā' Hē phalni Kāṇḍaebō' Āmbrā nimi-tē
 (Here so-and-so Old Man' Here so and-so Old Woman' Your names-in)
bōkōb-ḍōm gōṛē-ḍōm tē tertijḍing. Hē-ḍō ing ōgā' rāi-bōng
 (head-its with liver-its I am giving. Here I with consent of the family)
tertijḍing hontāe-kō berte-gāmōb berte-ūmbō gāmebār.
 (I am leaving them. To whom did you say, to whom not, you will say.)
Hē ḍō āmbrā nimi-bōng ugurōj'.
 (Here, in your names I dropped.)

[*Translation:*]—“Do you accept, O (So-and-so) old man and (So-and-so) old woman! I am offering the head and liver in your names. Do accept these that I am offering with the consent of all my family. You may ask, ‘In whose names are you offering these, and in whose names not doing so?’ Here I offer these in the names of all of you (i. e., without excluding any one)!”

The sacrificer then bows down before each rice-heap, touching his forehead with the joined palms of his hands. Other members of the family also do the same. He then gets up and blesses every member of the family by washing the hands of each and the feet of babies (if any) with rice-beer. He himself eats the rest of the roasted liver and the heads of the sacrificial fowls. The rest of the meat is distributed among relatives and all the family-members. Then the rice-beer is drunk by relatives and friends, and cakes of new rice-flour are eaten. On this occasion relatives and friends visit one another's house where they drink rice-beer. Next morning, the *Bhelvā* branch, the *Mahādeo jaṭā* (a thorny creeper) and *āruā* rice and other sacrifices, are taken by the master of the house to his fields, and the *bhelvā* branch together with the *Mahādeo jaṭā* is planted in the middle of one of his paddy fields, the rice being tied up in a *bhelvā*-leaf packet at the split top of the *bhelvā* branch. *Bhelvā* twigs are also planted on other fields. This is believed to protect the crops from the evil eye and from the ravages of paddy pests and wild animals.

Again, when the *Gūndli* (*Panicum miliare*) crop is harvested, some Khāriās, particularly the D̥helkis, celebrate the ceremony of eating its first-fruits. The cowshed is cleansed and incense burnt on live coals. Beer is brewed from the new *gūndli* grains and offered together with powdered *gūndli* grains to the Ancestor-Spirits and to the Spirit of the Cattle-shed, and prayers are offered by the head of the family to God (*Dharam*) for protection and prosperity of men and cattle. The horns of the cattle are anointed with oil, and turmeric-water is sprinkled on them. The cattle are each given

some *murun* and salt wrapped up in *Koroya* leaves, and sent out to the grazing ground. A *bhelwā* twig is inserted in the roof over the door of the cattle-shed and charcoal pieces are thrown away on the nearest cross-road junction.

(5) Harvest Festival (Tōlō Pūjā, or Kharrā Pūjā.)

The Kālō or village-priest must celebrate this harvest festival on his own threshing-floor before other villagers can do so. This is the public harvest festival. And both in this and in the private festivals at the threshing-floor (*tōlō*) of other Khārīās the same ritual is followed.

This is performed in the month of *Jirīb lerāng* (November-December) when some of the paddy crops of the cultivator have been harvested. In the *Tōlō* or *Kharihān* (threshing-floor) of the Kālō, the Kālō himself and, in those of other villagers, either the master of the house or the Kālō or a *siān* who knows the proper method of *pūjā*, offers the *Tōlō* sacrifices. On the threshing-floor, to the west of the stacks of paddy, is drawn a diagram resembling a five-petalled flower, the outer circles of each petal being composed of three lines. The innermost circle is drawn with powdered charcoal, the next outer one with red earth, and the outermost one with rice-flour. A black fowl (or, in default, a hen's egg) is placed at the centre of the diagram. This is meant for sacrifice. A well-to-do Khārīā usually sacrifices five fowls to *Khūñt Pāt*. Some Khārīās name *Gumī* as the wife of *Khūñt* and as protectress of the crops, and describe *Pāt* as their servant.

If no fowl is available for sacrifice in a particular family, the officiant stands before the heap of rice-sheaves and, taking in his hand a leaf-cup containing *ārua* rice

with which the contents of an egg are mixed up, begins to stir the contents of the leaf-cup, and prays as follows:—

“*Hethē Pañch, tubhlūng-t̃ Pōñmōsōr-Sākhī Gosōiā.*
 (Below [is] the Pañch, on high [is] God-Witness [i.e. the All-seeing God])
Najrāhi, dhiḥhāhi, bhākh-bhīmā lebu kiyā, mōd-lūtūr-tāe
 (Evil eye, malice, evil-tongue, men-of eyes-ears-from)
kāyom-tāe ālag karāe gōṛē. Kodo-bhūrndi-t̃ ālag karāe.
 (talk-from separate [protect us] Prickly-weeds-from separate.)
Sās barkat dīl-gurū.”
 (Prosperity-luck give.)”

Translation:—“The Pañch on Earth, and God on high. O All-seeing God! Do Thou protect us from the evil-eye and evil-tongue of envious persons. Protect us from prickly weeds [i.e., thorns in the jungles]. Bring us prosperity and good luck”.

If fowls are to be sacrificed, they are made to peck at five heaps (*kuris*) of *āruā* rice, and slain with an iron axe or knife. The blood is dropped over the rice heaps with prayers as above. Then a handful of *ālōng* or thatching grass is lighted, and the officiant takes it in hand and circumambulates the paddy-stacks once, keeping them to his left. Then the egg or fowl and rice and all other articles used in the ceremony are gathered up and thrown away at the junction of two roads. The paddy is threshed then and there and cleaned with the winnowing-fan, first by the officiant of the sacrifice, and then by others. The master of the house gives one basket of paddy to the village *Pañch* (elders) for preparing rice-beer with. This is prepared in the house of the *Kālō* or some other *Siān* and drunk by everyone including the man whose paddy is threshed and the officiant of the *pūjā*. The rice-beer is drunk at the *Tōlō* or *Kharihān*. This ceremony is performed in order to ward

off from the new crops the evil eye which might make the sheaves turn out to be full of chaff. The head of the family offers first some *mohuā* flowers, then *śāl* flowers, and places them over the *āruā* rice as before in the names of the Ancestor-spirits. Then, as before, one black cock, one red cock, and a grey hen are sacrificed and their blood is dropped over the rice in the names of the deceased Ancestors. This takes place on the full moon day.

(6) Safeguarding the Village (Gāo gānjāri, or Pō'dā Bāgresl Balteri.)

In some Dūdh Khārīā villages, on an appointed day in the month of *Jeth* (June-July) every year, and in other villages once in three years, and also in times of epidemic, the village-priest offers sacrifices in order to ward off diseases and other calamities from the village. Fowls and other sacrifices are purchased with subscriptions collected by the villagers. The tutelary *Pāt* of the village and the Mother-Goddess or *Devī-Māi* are the principal deities to whom sacrifices are offered,—a black-goat to *Devī-Māi*, and a goat or a fowl to *Pāt*. In villages where *Mahādān* (*lit.*, the spirit that requires the great sacrifice—*i. e.* human sacrifice) is worshipped (as in some villages near *Bhounr-Pāhār* in the Kōlebirā *thānā* of the Rāñchi District), a sheep is now sacrificed (presumably as a substitute for an older human sacrifice). The name *Mahādān* is a Hindu name, and the tradition is that it was some Hindu Zamindars who instituted and formerly used to offer such sacrifices. The Khārīā priest sacrifices to *Pāt*, *Devī-Māi*, and to the '*Mahādān*' spirit (only in the few villages where that spirit is

worshipped) in the presence of the assembled villagers. He goes to the *Devī-gūṛi* (the seat of the Mother-goddess under some tree) after a ceremonial bath, offers a libation of milk and burns incense and molasses and *ghee* (clarified butter), and sacrifices with an axe the goat after it is made to eat a little *āruā* rice, while praying,—"May all in the village remain in health. May there be no disease or other calamity or visitation (*tālā-dhākkā pelā-pāṭi*) of evil spirits". The sacrifice to *Pāṭ* is offered at the appointed place either at the foot of a hill or on some open ground within sight of a hill, and the sacrifice to *Mahādān*, if any, at the usual place.

(7) **Ceremonies at the Consecration of a new Spring or Well.**—When a village-spring (*Chūngḍā*) has been selected for general use by a Khāriā village, it is cleaned and fitted up either with a stone lining on the inner surface near its mouth or with a hollow wooden log fixed longitudinally into it. Then *sindūr*-marks are put on the stones or wooden log, and the following prayer is offered, "*Hē-ḷō Dākāi Rāṇī, Sembhu Rājā! Beṭod-beṭod-ḍā'tē ubuḷem*". ("O Queen Dākāi and King Sembhu! Do ye give water to the hungry and the thirsty".)

A similar ceremony is performed when a new well is dug in the village. It is only after this ceremonial consecration that water from the spring or the well is used by the villagers.

It may be noted that Dākāi Rāṇī and Sembhu Rājā are the presiding spirits of marshes and swamps, springs and pools. According to a Khāriā myth, when God once destroyed the earth with a rain of fire, Dākāi Rāṇī and Sembhu Rājā kept two human children, brother and sister

to each other, concealed in a *jōbhi* or marshy place. And their offspring are the progenitors of the present races of man on earth. When God wanted to people the earth again with men and women, He induced Dākāi Rānī and Sembhu Rājā to give up their protégés on promise of not destroying mankind again with rain and fire. The present races of mankind are, according to this Khāriā myth, the offspring of those two Khāriā children.⁹⁴

II. Private Pūjās.

As we said, there are certain private *pūjās* which every Khāriā family has to perform at stated intervals or on stated occasions. These are the periodical sacrifices to the Ancestor-spirits, to *Berō* or *Gīring* who is the Supreme Deity as represented by the Sun, to *Dimtāng sāng*, the presiding spirit of cattle, and to *Barṇḍā* or *Bar-Pāhāri*, the Great Mountain-god. A brief account of the private *pūjās* is given below.

(I) Sacrifices to the Supreme Deity (*Gīring* Pūjā, *lit.*, Sun-worship).

'*Berō*' is the Khāriā's name for the Sun, and '*Gīring*' means the sun's rays. Like most other Mūṇḍā tribes, the Khāriās regard the Sun as the visible symbol of the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. The Mūṇḍās, the Hōs, and the Birhōrs name Him as *Siṅbo:gā* or the 'Sun-god'. It is interesting to note that generally in Khāriā prayers to the Deity, He is addressed as "*Gīring-Lerāng*" or "*Berō-Lerāng*" (the "Sun-Moon"), thus probably indicating that it is not the Sun that is worshipped, but that the Sun and the Moon or the

94. Compare the similar Mūṇḍā myth of *Nāge-Erā* and her two protégés. Vide S.C. Roy's *The Divine Myths of the Mūṇḍās*, in *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1916.

rays of the Sun and the light of the Moon being the most sublime visible Powers that the tribal mind knows and can think of, the tribal mind has instinctively (and not by any conscious process of ratiocination) fixed upon "*Giring-Lerāṅ*" as the most suitable representation of the Deity who is the Life and Light of creation.

Every Khāriā must, once in his life-time, offer at least a white cock to *Bero* or *Giring*. Formerly, it is said, a white cock or a white goat or other animal, used to be offered to the Sun-God by every Khāriā at least once every year or, at any rate, every three or five years. Even now the older and orthodox people offer such periodical sacrifices of at least a white cock. On an appointed day, either in the month of *Bā'-biḍ'-biḍ'* (May-June) or in *Āṣhar* (June-July), early in the morning before sun-rise, the Khāriā who intends to perform the sacrificial ceremony goes with a few relatives to some open space on a flat rocky place (*chātān*) to the east of the village. Dalton says that to *Berō* "sacrifices are always made before an ant-hill, which is used as an altar", and that "this peculiar mode of sacrificing has fallen into disuetude among the Hos and the Mūṇḍās", among whom Dalton says it was once orthodox.⁹⁵ If Dalton's statement is correct about the Khāriā custom, such custom has fallen into disuetude amongst them, too, in so far as sacrifices to *Bero* or *Giring* are concerned. Now-a-days besides sacrifices to the Bārṇḍā spirit, it is only to certain evil spirits who have to be kept out of harm's way that sacrifices are offered into the hollow of an ant-hill so that the lure of blood may attract the spirit into it and the spirit may be thus confined

95. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872) p. 159,

in the ant-hill. If this was ever done with the Sun-God, He must in those days have been regarded as more a malevolent Deity than a beneficent one. But now, at any rate, He is regarded as a benevolent and beneficent Deity, although He may, at times, punish men for their sins by inflicting disease, dearth, and failure of crops. With their economic progress and closer contact with the Hindus their conception of the Supreme Deity would appear to have become more refined and elevated. He is "Sākḥī Gosāñyā", the All-Seeing Deity.

The sacrificer takes with him a white cock, some *āruā* rice, cooking-pots, leaf-cups and an axe. On reaching the rocky spot selected for the sacrifice, he clears the spot with water and sits down facing the east. He next arranges five small heaps of *āruā* rice before him. The white fowl is made to peck at these rice-heaps and is beheaded with the axe. Its blood is dropped on the heaps of *āruā* rice. The head and lungs are roasted separately then and there in leaf cups.

Then the man offers a bit of the roasted head and lungs to Gīring over the blood-besprinkled heaps of rice. When he has done this, another man hands over to him a little leaf-cup filled with water, some of which he drops over the rice-heaps. Then he himself eats a morsel of the roasted meat. Five times he offers water and the meat of the fowl's head and lungs to Gīring, and addresses Him as follows:—

"Hō-lā āmgā kōññ-Gīring-Lerāng, māhā Gīring-Lerāng gāṃḍom
(Here take Thou Little-Sun-Moon Great-Sun-Moon Thou art called).
kim. Amgā kheti-bāri-tē lobrō'-tem jārāytem. Āmgā kūṇḍā
(It is Thou [who] crops corruptest It is Thou)
hākōnā moḍ lutur tē bāgrāytem bābrutem. Johār Ponḍmōsōr
(children's eyes ears spoilest, ourest. I bow to Thee, O God)

O *Goṣāññā. Oṇḍor-dūgē libui-dugē*".

O Lord ! Listen. Have pity".)

Translation:—"Here ! Do Thou accept [these sacrifices]. It is Thou who art called the Little Sun-Moon; Thou who art called the Great Sun-Moon. It is Thou who spoilest our crops and harmest our children and our eyes and ears. And it is Thou who dost succur us. O God,—O Lord,—have mercy on us, have pity on us."

Then the sacrificer kneels before the rice-heaps and, in a bowing posture, salutes *Gīring* five times by touching his forehead with the joined palms of his hands.

Relatives and friends are then treated to a feast, but the meat of the sacrificed cock may not be taken by any one except the sacrificer and his unmarried sons and brothers.

If any portion of the cooked food is left over, it will be hung up on some tree near the place of sacrifice. But the vessel in which rice has been cooked for the sacrificial meal is brought home and hung up, without washing it, from the inner rafters of the roof. After eight days, rice-beer for libation is set to brew in that very earthen vessel and when the beer is ready, the man, his wife, or married sons and brothers alone drink it after offering libations in the name of the Sun-God and the Ancestor-spirits.

(2) Ancestor-Worship.

Every Khāriā makes offerings to the spirits of his deceased ancestors in his own house at every important festival, viz., at the *Ñyōḍem Nỹōnā* or *Ñyōḍem* ceremony or eating new food grains in the month of *Bhādo* (August-September) and again in *Phāgūn* (February-March) and

at the *Bondāi* ceremony in the month of *Bondāi lerāṅ* or Kārtik (October-November).

(a) The *Ñyōḍem* *Ñyōmā* or *Ñyōḍem* ceremony of Bhādo (August-September) synchronizes with the *Kadlētā pūjā*, and is, in fact, inseparable from it. The day following the *Kadlētā pūjā*, the master of the house offers rice, rice-husk, rice-flour, *bhelwā* (*semicarpus anacardium*) twigs, *keōṇḍ* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) twigs, and the blood of a grey cock to the Ancestor-spirits. As usual, he puts down five small heaps of rice before him, beheads the grey cock and drops its blood over the rice-heaps and then places other offerings on each rice heap. This is performed so that the family may enjoy good health and no member may suffer from any serious illness.

(b) Similarly after the *Bondāi* festival in the month of October-November, the master of the house offers a red cock, a white cock, a spotted cock, a grey hen, and a black hen to the Ancestor-spirits.

(c) On the evening before the *Phāgu* *Ñyōḍem*, the head of the family remains fasting. Next day, on the day of the *Ñyōḍem* ceremony, at early morning, he takes a bath and then offers *mahūā* flowers and *śāl* flowers, and sacrifices a spotted (*mālā*) cock, a red cock, and a grey hen to the Ancestor-spirits. This symbolism of colours, a particular colour being regarded as appropriate to a particular deity or spirit, is worth noting.

(3) *Bārṇḍā Pujā*.

The *Bārṇḍā* spirit, as we said in a previous chapter, is regarded as the general Clan-spirit (*Bhāyād-bhūt*) by the Khārīās and also identified with *Bar-Pāhārī* or the

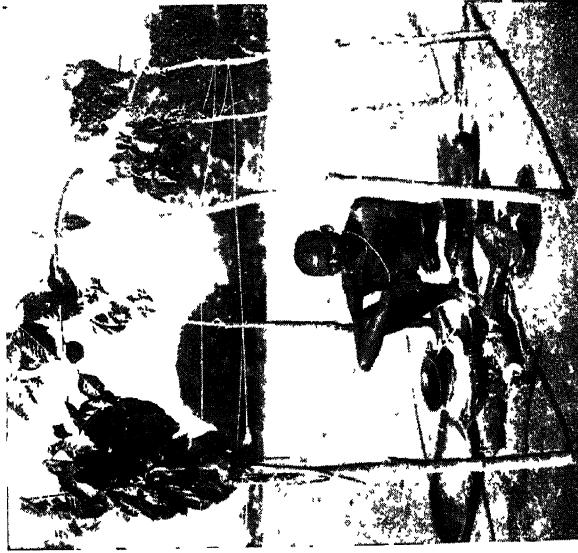
'Great Mountain' identical with the *Marāṅg-Būru* of the *Mūṇḍās*. In each generation a *Khāṇiā* family is required to offer a number of sacrifices of different degrees of merit to this deity. The first time a family has to offer a red cock, the next time a pig, the next time after that a black sheep, in a subsequent year a buffalo, and last of all another cock. These sacrifices are made from time to time as means permit. A man who has completed these sacrifices is regarded as having acquired special religious merit. As for the last but one sacrifice, only until recently it used to consist of a buffalo; but now-a-days buffalo sacrifice has been generally given up by, at any rate, the *Dūdh Khāriās*. The special feature of the *Bārṇḍā Pūjā* is that it has to be performed in front of an ant-hill (*Bhūñṛū*). The explanation given for this practice is that, after the sacrifice, the spirit will enter the ant-hill and will remain confined there so as not to be able to do any harm. A carved wooden pole (*Khūṇṭō*) represents *Bārṇḍā*.

All the offerings to *Bārṇḍā* are made in the month of *Baiśākh* (April-May). The head of the family himself makes all the offerings. Early in the morning on the day appointed beforehand, with his family-members and relatives, he goes to an ant-hill on some open land to the west of the village. He takes with him new earthen cooking pots, *āruā* rice, some *śāl* wood for fuel, rice-beer prepared for the occasion, and the fowl or animal to be sacrificed and the carved pole representing *Bārṇḍā*.

On reaching the ant-hill this small *śāl* pole, about twenty inches long, which has been carved with three grooves (as in the margin), is inserted into the hollow of the ant-hill and planted there. Then the head of the



Bārṇḍā
Khūṇṭō



37. Dūdh Khāriā priest cooking
sacrificial meal.



38. Bārṇḍā Pūjā (Note the Bārṇḍā-
Khūntō and the sacred winnow by
its side, and the priest making the
votive fowl peck at rice-grains).

family places on the top of this carved post some *āruā* rice, and on top of it a copper coin, and over that a bit of turmeric. Then the officiant sits before the post, facing west, and places three small heaps (*kūris*) of *āruā* rice (*komsōr rūmkūb*) in front of himself.

Then holding in his hand the sacrificial cock or animal, as the case may be, he makes it eat the rice. Then the fowl or animal is slain with an axe and its blood is dropped over the post into the ant-hill. While the sacrificer does this, he recites the following prayer:—

"*Hē-dō-lā āmgā Kōnōn Bārṇḍā, Māhā Bārṇḍā, gāmdōmtām. Āmtē*
(Here! Thou small Bārṇḍā, big Bārṇḍā Thou art called. To Thee)
mōloy-sōn gājoling ghōlson phōrōning gāmsi khō'j jē'
(five -times fry [with oil] ten-times make delicious I had said so.)
karaytertejding. Āmgā bārson deotā

(I offer Thee [after preparing]. Thou indeed two-times God)
hekem. Āmgā Khāriā Bārṇḍā ! "

(art. Thou indeed art Khāriā Bārṇḍā !)

Translation :—"Look here ! Thou art called little Bārṇḍā, great Bārṇḍā. I had promised [to offer] Thee meat fried five times and cooked deliciously with spices ten times. So now I offer these [what I promised]. Thou art doubly a god (i. e. twice as powerful as other gods). Thou indeed art the Bārṇḍā of the Khāriās ! "

The officiant boils the rice and the heart and lungs of the sacrificed animal then and there in an earthen pot over an improvised hearth in which *śāl* wood is used for fuel. When the rice and meat are both cooked he makes three balls of cooked rice and places them over the burning *śāl* wood in the hearth, and over each of the rice-balls he places the cooked meat. Then he eats five morsels of rice and meat, and with each morsel drinks a little water, and then washes his hands and mouth with water poured over his hand by some one

present. Then he takes a winnowing fan and pours water over it so that it trickles down over the hearth. The *Bārṇḍā* spirit is represented by the fire; and the water trickling down the holes of the winnowing fan are taken to represent the water gurgled out by *Bārṇḍā* while washing its mouth after the meal. He then takes the cooking-pot and goes home in absolute silence. The pot is hung up in the house. The relatives are treated to a drink and, if means allow, to a hearty dinner. The sacrificial meat is eaten by every one except unmarried girls. In some places, after the fowl is beheaded, its trunk is thrown on the ground, and the side of the trunk that rests on the ground is taken home by the sacrificer to be eaten by the members of his family except unmarried girls. The side that points upward is chopped and boiled with rice, vegetables, and condiments then and there, and the meat is eaten by the *Pañches* and other tribe-fellows present. After eight days the pot is taken down and rice-beer is brewed in it. This is drunk by the head of the family and his wife and their unmarried sons. If there is any sickness in the family, the carved *Bārṇḍā* pole is waved round the patient and a piece of *sabai* string is fastened round it by way of a vow to offer a further sacrifice when the patient recovers.⁹⁶

The same procedure is followed in subsequent years when other sacrifices are offered to *Bārṇḍā*.

(4) **Bandāi.**

On the new-moon day of the month of *Jirib-lerāng* (November or *Kārtik*), the Khāriā's cow-shed is

96. A *sabai* string is regarded as the symbol for a goat or other animal because such animals are usually tethered with *sabai* strings.

cleansed with water and cow-dung. The cattle are grazed from morning till noon and brought home at noon after making them drink water. Then the cattle are washed with water and their horns besmeared with oil. This is called "*Chūmān*" or 'Kissing' of the cattle. In the case of buffaloes, this "*Chūmān*" takes place in some places, on the preceding night.

The mistress of the house or some other female member draws figures of cow's hoofs on the ground from the courtyard up to the door of the cattle-shed with rice-flour mixed with water.

The master of the house or his son or unmarried younger brother takes his bath. Generally all the members of the family take a bath. The master of the house wears a sacred thread made of grass round his neck. He then sits down near the door of the cattle-shed, facing east. A lamp with four wicks is lighted and placed near the door of the cow-shed. He brings with him some molasses and incense mixed together in a leaf-cup. He then puts some live charcoal before him on the ground. Then he sprinkles the mixture of molasses and incense on the burning charcoal by way of burnt-offering, and prays as follows:—

Hē-dō Bāghā Māhrā' Khōrā Māhrā' Hē-dō Chauniā Māhrā'
 (Here! O Bāghā herdsman! Khorā herdsman! Here! O Chhauniā herdsman!)
Hē-dō Māghā Māhrā' Yōpe orej' bōntel bāchhrū
 (O Māghā herdsman! Do ye all look after bullocks, buffaloes, calves,
merōm nāing-kītē. Gupāyepē āgūrepē. Birū kūtrā
 (goats of-mine. Graze [them], look-after [them]. On hills, small-jungles,
ghās obhōgepe gupāyepē. Biru pōkhrā dā'
 (grass you will feed; you will graze [them]. On hills, tank water)
ubūdepe. Kīro-bōng kīrō kiyā tae hūndrā tūyūkiā tae jurā'
 (let them drink; Tiger tigress-from, wolves jackals from, thorns)
khūñtō kiyā-tae gā'rā-dhōrhā jhāri lekheyā kālkhū tae
 (stones them-from, rivers streams from, all kinds dangers-from)

bāñchayepē. Hina' ghāḍ āmpēṭē ing āmpā pūjā sewā
 (save [them] For-all these to you I your Worship-service)
karāeting. Jhāri lekhē kosu tāē bāñchāyepē. Bairi-kitāē
 (am doing. All kinds sickness-from protect Enemies-from,)
ḍāin-bisāhi kitāē jhāri lekhē najair-tāē bāñchāē-ḍorepē. Hina'-ghāḍ
 (witches-from, of-all-kinds evil-eye-from do ye save [u-]. For all these)
āmpetē pūjā sewā karāeting. Āmpāgā bāyepē.
 (to ye worship-service I do. Yours you will make [them])

Translation :— Here, O Bāghā Āhīr, Khōra Āhīr, Chhauniā Āhīr! Māghā Āhīr! Do ye look after my bullocks, buffaloes, calves, goats. Do ye tend and protect them. Tend and graze them on the grass of hills and valleys. Make them drink the water of hill-springs and tanks. Do ye protect them from tigers, wolves and jackals, from thorns and stumps, from rivers and streams,—from all sorts of dangers. For all this, I offer you worship and service. Do ye help us in times of sickness. Do ye save us from all enemies,—from witches and from the evil eye. For all this, I offer you worship and service. Do ye regard them as yours." (i.e., take them under your protection).

Some Dūdh Khāriās also name Gangā-Jamunā, (the Ganges and the Jumna), Sūri Kapli Gāi (a divine cow), Śakti Ahīrīn, and Nāndu Ahīr in their invocations at this Pūjā.

Then the sacrificer arranges five small heaps (*kūris*) of *āruā* rice before him and makes a red cock and a spotted hen peck at the five rice-heaps, and then cuts off with an axe the head of the fowls thus engaged in eating, and drops their blood over the rice-heaps, and throws the beheaded trunks of the fowls into the cattle-shed.

Then the cow-herd, or sometimes the son of the master of the house, roasts the heads and livers in a

leaf-cup and again drops on the rice-heaps bits of the roasted meat by way of offering. The sacrificer alone then eats a portion of the sanctified meat and throws the rest over the roof of the house, and repeats the invocation again.

Now, the master of the house and others present make obeisance before the blood-tinged heaps of rice-offerings. Then outside the house, the cattle are given boiled rice and cakes of rice-flour in baskets to eat.

Then the master of the house takes off his sacred thread and fastens it round the post nearest to the door, inside the cattle-shed. Then all drink and feast and dance and make themselves merry.

The Dūdh Khāriās say that the Āhīrs and Āhīrins invoked at this Pūjā are the deified spirits of the cow-herds of their ancestors who in the days of tradition, lived on the valle of the Ganges and the Jumnā and owned large herds of cattle.

Some Khāriās who own buffaloes also sacrifice a young pig inside the cattle-shed. It is struck against the forehead of the buffaloes between their horns. Then the pig, thus almost done to death, is finally killed by the master of the house by beheading it with his axe. The hoofs of the buffaloes are ritually washed with rice-beer and the body and horns are beasmeared with oil and washed in cold water. While all this is being done, a light is kept burning in the cow-shed, another in the house, and a third in the kitchen-garden.

The buffaloes are given boiled rice and *ūrid* (*Phaseolus Roxburghii*) and cakes of rice-flour to eat. The food is generally served in baskets. It is interesting to note that the cow-herds as well the other boys of a

family share, or until recently used to share, this meal with the cattle: This interesting little custom, like several others, is now-a-days falling into disuse. The meat of the sacrificed fowls or animals and rice-beer are ritually eaten and drunk by all the family-members except the girls, who are given ordinary meat and beer.

The songs sung on this occasion are in local Hindi, perhaps indicating the Hindu (Āhīr) origin of this cattle cult. A specimen of these songs is given below:—

“Suri Kapligāi ! Erendīkō laūri.

Dhāi-dhāi āōi ē mōr Pāt Bhaiṁsi !

Khūr lāgē, pāthal phūtē; sing lāgē, dāir tūtē,

Hākānte āō, hākāntē jāo.

Bārō pāhārkē ghās khāi,

Bārō pokharkē pāni piyē

Ban jhār chāir baiskē chāil āō”.

[Translation]

“O Suri-Kapli cow! Castor-wood goad.

O my queen-Buffalo! Do Thou come running.

Thy hoofs touch a stone, and it splits;

Thy horns touch a branch, and it breaks.

Do Thou come when called, and go when bid.

After grazing on twelve hills,

And drinking in twelve tanks,

And grazing and resting in jungle and brush-wood,

Do Thou return [home to me].”

(5) Propitiation of Cattle-shed Spirits

(Dīmāṅg-Sūṅ).

Dīmāṅg-Sūṅ, in Khāriā, means purification and propitiation of the cattle-shed (Dīmāṅg). This is done once in twelve years. In the month of *Baiśākh* (April-

May), five days before the full-moon, the cattle-shed of every Khārīā house is cleansed. A miniature cowshed is constructed for the occasion on some upland by planting four *śāl* branches as posts, and roofing them over with *śāl* leaves. The shed is encircled with new cotton thread all around it.

On the early morning fixed for the ceremony, the officiant of the ceremony takes his bath and goes to the cattle-shed with a goat or pig, some *āruā* rice, a new earthen-pot, a little powdered turmeric, an axe, and cooking vessels.

He places five small heaps of *āruā* rice within the shed, kills the goat or pig with his axe and drops its blood on the rice-heaps in the name of the tutelary spirits of cattle, and, with folded hands, prays,—"May my cattle remain safe and sound. May no harm befall them from tiger and bear, beast and reptile, rivulet and river, sickness and evil eye".

Then he boils some rice and cooks the head of the sacrificed animal then and there and eats it alone. He may give a portion of this to any of his unmarried sons who may be present there during the ceremony. The cooking vessel is brought home and rice-beer meant for libation is brewed in it. The flesh of the goat is eaten by all the members of the family except the girls.

(6) **Ceremonies at Construction and Occupation of a New House.**—When a Khārīā family desire to build a new house either in their old village or in a new village, the site is selected by the following method. Of an evening, the head of the family places a few grains (odd in number) of *āruā* rice at each of the four corners of an intended site, and covers the rice with *pīpal* (*Ficus*

religiosa) leaves. In the morning he goes to read the signs. If the number of rice-grains is found to have remained unchanged or is imagined to have increased by only one or two grains, then the site is considered auspicious and is selected, and the foundation for the house is dug. If the number of grains has increased by more than two, the site is abandoned as it is believed that the house built upon it will be visited by various diseases. If the number of grains is found to have decreased, the site is abandoned as, it is believed, that there will be no increase in cattle or crops or progeny or lands or other forms of property or wealth if the family settle on that site. The same method of prognostication is also adopted when a few families decide to establish a new village or a hamlet (*tōlā*) on some waste or unoccupied area. Another test employed in determining whether a certain site is propitious or not for building a house upon or establishing a village is to plant a *śāl* post in the middle of the proposed site in the evening. On the following morning, if the post is found standing quite straight and upright, the site is selected. But if the post is found to incline, however slightly, in any direction, the site is believed to be haunted by some evil spirit and is accordingly abandoned.

After a propitious site has been selected and a house built upon it, an auspicious date is appointed for the occupation of the house. The day of the *Phāgū* festival (in March), the day of the *Ñyōḍem-Ñyōnā* or eating of the first-fruits of the upland paddy, and (among the *Dudh Khāriās*) the Hindu *Ratha-Yātrā* festival, are the days regarded as the most auspicious. Before the family enters into occupation of the house, the head

of the family pours a little rice-beer at each corner of the premises as a libation to his Ancestor-spirits and to the Village-spirits. Then the mistress of the house cooks rice and other food in new earthen-ware vessels, and the head of the family offers a little of this food to his Ancestor-spirits near the hearth. Then the elders of the village, and, if possible, other friends and relatives are treated to a hearty meal and plenty of rice-beer.

7 Consecration of Fruit-trees.—The Khāriā projects his own personality to a number of impersonal objects which appear to him to possess power, either beneficent or maleficent. Among such objects are fruit-trees, particularly those which bear edible and nourishing fruits. As children born out of wedlock are despised and disdained by Khāriā society, so, too, the fruits of trees that have not been ceremonially “married” or sanctified are eschewed by the orthodox Khāriā owner of the tree. It is also believed by the Khāriā that fruits of a tree which is not ceremonially “married” or sanctified are likely to breed worms. And, so, until the “marriage” of the tree is solemnised, the owner or planter of the tree abstains from eating its fruit, though other members of the family as also outsiders may eat the fruit. It may, however, be noted that the practice of “marrying” fruit-trees (perhaps borrowed from the Hindus) is gradually falling into disuse. Generally the “marriage” ceremony of a fruit-tree is now-a-days celebrated after it begins to bear fruit and, in most cases, along with the marriage of a son or other member of the family of the owner of the tree. The human bride and bridegroom are conducted in procession to the tree along with all the guests, male and female. The two take hold each of one

end of a long unbleached cotton-thread (*komsōr sū'trōm*) and circumambulate the tree five or seven times (as in the case of a human marriage), while the rest of the people dance. Drums are played upon, and plenty of rice-beer is drunk on the occasion. This is more a "magical" than a strictly religious ceremony. The object of the ceremony would appear to be to induct into the tree the propitious "**mana**" or power associated by the Khāriā with the Bridegroom and the Bride.

(8) **Sanctification of Musical Instruments.**—A Khāriā also ascribes personality to his musical instruments such as the *māṇḍṛi* drum, and the *bāṇṣṛi* or *mūrlī* flute. Before using such an instrument, he anoints it with vermilion marks. This, it is said, protects the instrument from the evil eye. This, too, is a ceremony of the nature of "magic" by which the **mana** or mystic power inhering in the instrument is sought to be protected and perhaps strengthened and augmented. ⁹⁷

Conclusion.—Such, in brief, are the religious feasts and festivals of the different sections of the Khāriās. The object of their religious and socio-religious rites and ceremonies, feasts and festivals, is, as we have seen, to secure confidence in times of crisis and danger, and acquire strength and luck and good '*mana*' for the community, the family, and the individual through contact and communion with mysterious beneficent Powers or Spiritual Beings, by means of offerings and sacrifices and the eating of the sacrificial meal. These spiritual Powers or Beings are invested with personality and believed

97. Compare a similar custom (more elaborate) among the Orāon neighbours of the Khāriās. See S. C. Roy's *Orāon Religion and Customs*, pp. 90-91; and *The Orāons of Chōtā-Nāgpur*, p. 439.

to influence the destinies of man. The various restrictions and rites, fasts and observances devised by Khārīā Society are believed to fit the worshippers for communion with the higher Powers and for admission to their grace,—and perhaps participation, however fragmentary and temporary, in their higher **mana**.

The Khārīā's religious worship, as we have seen, is mainly communal or congregational. Personal worship is but little developed among any section of the tribe. The nearest approach to it is made by the sacrifices, offerings, and libations made to the Ancestor-spirits in their sacred tabernacle, by the head of each family on the occasion of every festival, and the libation offered in their names by every orthodox Khārīā when drinking rice-beer. In a few comparatively rare instances, a Khārīā of a psychic temperament aspiring, sub-consciously rather than consciously, after a higher spiritual life, may acquire, in a dream or in trance, the vision of some deity or spirit,—usually now the Hindu deity Māhādeo,—or is mysteriously led to the discovery of a stone which comes to be believed to represent Māhādeo. He accordingly accepts Mahādeo (no matter, whether in origin He was an 'Āryan' or a Dravidian or a Mūṇḍā God,) as his tutelary deity, ceremonially and reverentially installs the stone in his house and offers daily offerings and devotions to Him. The tribal gods and spirits would appear to have been originally revealed in the mystic experiences or 'disassociated' states of mind of such gifted "*seers*" and, through their personal influence and prestige, came to be included in the tribal pantheon, and were thus socialised, so to say. Guided by such "*seers*", Khārīā society developed conventionalized

methods of ritualistic approach to the tribal gods and spirits. As for the average unsophisticated Khāriā, it is generally only on occasions of his collective ceremonies or public *Pūjās* and the dances and festivals associated with them that he experiences the religious thrill and feels himself, for the time being, lifted out of the drab level of the life of the senses to the higher level of the life of the spirit. Under the mutual stimulation of public worship, the worshippers' life-feeling is intensified and they feel or imagine themselves to be in touch with higher Powers and are inspired with confidence and hope and a sense of security amid the uncertainties of life. And, as a result of such communal worship, the **community-feeling**, too, is intensified and **social solidarity** is strengthened during the *Pūjās*, as during social festivals and gatherings, by an increased consciousness of all sharing in one common **tribal mana** which is believed to be augmented, cemented, integrated and sanctified by the superior **mana** or occult power of the Ancestor-Spirits and the divine **mana** (if it may be so termed) of the tribal gods.

Thus, the religion of the Khāriā is a **cult of Power** or of many **Powers** that rule the whole gamut of his life. This **Power-cult** (*'Sakti-Pūjā'*, as the Hindu would call it), though much cruder than the similar cult in other natural religions among peoples of a higher culture, is not essentially different in nature from it. In their search for sources of *Power*, the Khāriās have, in a few cases, borrowed or incorporated into their pantheon deities of alien origin; and, in a few other cases of similarity of his deities with those of neighbouring peoples, we may see instances of parallel evolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

Magic and Witchcraft.

Magic, like religion, deals with the super-normal. Religion, as Dr. Marett says, includes all salutary ways of dealing with supernormal powers, and Magic includes all bad ways of dealing with them. Among the Khārīās, as we have seen, the minister of religion is the village-priest—Kālō or Dihuri,—and, in some cases, the head of the family or a village-elder or *siān*, whereas the minister of good Magic is the Deoñrā or diviner and medicine-man, and of bad magic the Dāñ-Biśāhā or sorcerer and witch. For, all magic is not bad. Magic has been divided into two classes. These are popularly known as Black Magic and White Magic. The object of Black Magic is anti-social and its methods of dealing with supernormal powers and forces are evil or wicked. White Magic, on the other hand, consists not only in innocuous methods of dealing with the supernormal, but in so far as its ministers seek to secure beneficent results or to expose and counteract the anti-social activities of the sorcerer and witch, the Deoñrā is a benefactor to society.

White Magic approaches Religion in its methods and objects, the only difference being that while Religion, in general, deals with distinct personal powers with whom it is sought to establish harmonious relations, Magic deals more with impersonal forces and energies which it is sought to press into service through

proper rites and spells and mental suggestion or otherwise. The Black Magician or sorcerer often, however, accomplishes his nefarious purposes with the aid of some mischievous spirit whom he has adopted as his familiar and whom he keeps in humour by providing nutriment at stated periods. He also relies on his belief in his own power of control of the supernormal powers or his own evil *mana* and on the compelling power of his specialised spells and rites.

The Deoñrā or minister of White Magic, on the other hand, invokes the aid of his tutelary deity as also of all other beneficent spirits he can think of, to foil the mischievous activities of the malignant spirits or of other spirits that may have been set in motion by the sorcerer or witch. The Khāriā village-priest and also, in some cases, the village-community or a section of it (such as the village women) may jointly employ methods of White Magic to press some super-normal mystic power into service for the common good of the community or the locality. An instance of this is the public ceremony for removing drought as described below.

I. Magical Practices.

(i) **Magic Ceremony to Remove Drought.**—When there is a drought, the Kālō goes to a *Jitiā-Pipar* (*Ficus Religiosa*) tree and winds an unbleached cotton thread several times round its trunk at a height of about four feet above the ground. If possible, a tree by the side of a rock or other high place is selected.

Early in the morning, before any one has drawn water from the village well, tank or stream, the

women of the village, led by the Kālō's wife, go with new earthen vessels to the village *qārī* or spring, tank or well, and all fill their vessels and bring water to the tree. The Kālō's wife first throws water over the tree a rock from a rock or other elevated position by its side and then sits down under the tree. Then some other women, usually numbering either five or seven, throw water over the tree which falls on the Kālō's wife's head, as if it is raining. Then the Kālō's wife throws some water over the head of the other women. Then all take their bath and go home, cook their meals, and serve an early breakfast to the male members of their families, who then go out for a ceremonial hunt. The women then take their breakfast. When the men return home, all eat rice, flour-cakes, rice-beer and meat of any game that may be brought home.

In this rite of White Magic, it is the village-priest who or, in whose absence, a *Siān* or village elder, officiates and not the Deoñrā. It is generally when witchcraft or Black Magic is suspected that the Deoñrā's services are requisitioned to neutralise its ill effects.

The Khāriās, like all other Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes, believe that sickness or other misfortune is caused either by evil spirits or by the "evil eye" or "evil tongue" of witches and sorcerers. They believe that some persons at death become evil spirits or *Dūbōs*. And every Khāriā is always apprehensive of harm to himself or his family or his crops or his cattle through these evil *Dūbōs*. As stated in a previous chapter, a woman dying during pregnancy becomes an evil spirit called "Churil", and a person killed by a tiger becomes a "Bāghia" spirit, and a person dying of violence becomes a "Muā".

The Deoñṛā (Hindi, *Māti*) can, with his rites of divination, find out who is the spirit or witch responsible for any calamity; and with his spells, incantations and adjurations he can control or pacify the offended mischievous spirits, expel evil spirits from the afflicted person, and put them out of harm's way. As for the witch or sorcerer whose evil eye or whose instigation of some evil spirit may be responsible for some illness to man or cattle, the evil-doer can be detected and foiled by the Deoñṛā by counter-spells and other rites. The word 'Deoñṛā' may be translated by the English word "spirit-doctor" or "medicine-man". The Deoñṛā not only knows the art of finding out evil spirits and witches who may have caused any particular harm, and the method of expelling, circumventing, or appeasing them, but is also conversant with various medicinal roots and herbs which may cure diseases.

These Deoñṛās are of two classes. One class is known as *Mahā-Deoñṛā* (great Magician) or *Bhūiphūṭ-Deoñṛā* and the other *Konon-Deoñṛā* (small-Deoñṛā). Individuals of the former class acquire their powers unsought, through the grace of God. The second class learn the art of the Magician from adepts in the art. It is to the visions of particularly gifted individuals of the former class in the ancient past that the Khāriās probably owe their conceptions of the particular deities or spirits of their pantheon. The art or profession of a Deoñṛā is not hereditary. And some of the Deoñṛās in the Khāriā country are not Khāriās but low-caste Hindus and are generally called *Mātis*. In order to be a successful magician one must be born with a psychic temperament; and except for the *Bhūiphūṭ Deoñṛās* who are born

with or are suddenly or mysteriously endowed with the special gift of divination and spirit-control, a preliminary training in the art under some adept is regarded as necessary. The adept holds his seances at night. At these seances, incense is burnt and offerings of molasses and clarified butter and rice are offered to some deity such as Mahādeo; and the teacher and pupils chant invocations *ad infinitum* while either the teacher or one of his advanced disciples go on rubbing the palm of his right hand over some rice on a winnowing-basket. Now and then the teacher slaps a disciple on his back with some force over the vertebral column, obviously with the object of stimulating the disciple's magnetism (which is believed to pass in currents through the spinal cord) or of imparting to him some of his own psychic power or *mana*.

Khārīā society have also devised certain magical ceremonies and methods to control nature, and the mysterious super-normal forces and entities that cause harm. It is, in fact, on ritual and on supposed '*Mana*' that the Khārīā's magic art rests. The Khārīā's superstitious beliefs in omens and dreams are mainly based on ideas of magic, mostly of the sympathetic variety. Of these, we shall give some account in the next chapter. We shall here describe some of the magic ritual of the Deoñrā.

(II) Magical Means to cure Diseases (Kosu).

(I) *Discovering the Disease-Spirit.*

The Khārīā ascribes most diseases to the agency of evil spirits and witches and the evil eye. Witches are believed to set their own familiar spirits, such as

Ṭōnā, Dāiṇ, Rākṣas, Churil, etc., on a person they want to injure. Though some diseases are regarded as generally curable by human skill or in a natural way, yet even in such diseases, if a witch casts his or her evil eye on the patient, the illness may, it is believed, prove fatal.

So when, in a case of protracted illness in a Khāriā family, recourse is had to a Deoñrā or spirit-doctor or medicine-man, some member of the family goes with some sun-dried (*āruā*) rice in a leaf-cup to a Deoñrā to discover what agency is responsible for the trouble, and how the evil spirit, if any, may be exorcised. The man takes out a long thatching grass (*ōlōng*) from the roof of the Deoñrā's hut and hands it over to him. Taking it in his hand, the Deoñrā touches the earth with it and then salutes his familiar spirit by bringing it in contact with his own forehead. He then measures the grass with his fingers so that it may not exceed fifteen digits in length, any superfluous length being torn off and cast aside. The grass is measured three times alternately from opposite ends. While doing so, he utters prayers like the following:—"O God! If a spirit is responsible for the sickness, may this grass increase in length, otherwise may it decrease". Should the grass be found on re-measurement to be longer than fifteen digits, it is concluded that some spirit has brought on the illness. Should the grass be found on re-measurement to be shorter in length than fifteen digits, the Deoñrā tries, with the help of the rice-grains, to find out if any spirit may still be found to have caused the illness. He places on the ground the rice grains brought by the sick man's relative, picks out the entire

grains from broken ones, and places these broken grains and the whole grains in two separate small heaps. From the heap of entire grains the *Deoñṛā* takes up a few rice grains with two fingers and puts them down on the ground in separate dribblets in two or three places, praying,—"O Bhagwān (God) ! Should the sickness have been caused by a spirit, may the number of grains turn out to be odd, and otherwise may the number be even".

Then he counts the rice-grains by pairs, and puts back each pair again in the original heap, and repeats this process a few times. If each time, or even once, a redundant rice-grain is found in the heap, the *Deoñṛā* concludes that a spirit is reponsible.

If the first test with the *ōlōng*, and the second test with rice-grains, both fail, the *Deoñṛā* is puzzled and refers his client to another *Deoñṛā*.

When the *Deoñṛā* finds that some spirit (*Ḍūbō*) or other is responsible for the malady, he is required to find out which *Ḍūbō* it is and what has offended it. Among the reasons most commonly assigned by him are remissness in the propitiation of the family-spirit or desecration of the seat of a *Ḍūbō*. Not unoften, however, some witch (*ḍāin*) may be indicated as the agency or cause of the trouble.

If the *Deoñṛā* is called to the sick person's house, as is the case in all serious maladies, he comes and feels the pulse of the patient and examines the affected part, if any, of the patient in the manner of a medical man, and generally confirms his previous opinion as to the agency of a *Ḍūbō* or spirit.

In order to discover the identity of the *Ḍūbō* responsible for the malady, the *Deoñṛā* sits down with

a quantity of rice-grains on his magic *sūp* (*sā'mū*) or winnowing-fan placed before him. He goes on rubbing the rice over the winnowing fan with his hands, while uttering incantations in a sing-song tone. These incantations are generally worded in local Hindi and consist of invocations to all *Deotās*, *Dūbōs* or Spirits, and supposed supernatural powers of all sorts and degrees, whether indigenous or foreign, which the Deoñrā may happen to have heard of.

This goes on usually the whole night through. Then generally before day-break, an earthen lamp, fed either by *jātāngi* (*Guizota Abyssinica*) oil or with sesamum oil, is handed over to the Deoñrā who puts it over a little *āruā* rice placed on the floor. He then makes a wick for the lamp with a rag, ties up in a knot at one end of it two or three grains of rice and a little mud, and then lights this wick at the knotted end. Small balls of fire are formed which are said to represent the offended evil-spirit or *Dūbō*; and with another similar wick the Deoñrā touches each fire-ball saying,—“Oh such-and-such (names) *Dūbō*! I separate thee from the rest. Sufficient is the affliction with which thou hast punished this person. Whether any offence may have been given to thee [unawares] or whether a witch may have led thee hither by her spells, do thou now leave this person. The sacrifices thou desirest shall be duly offered.”

The identity of the offended *Dūbō* is discovered either through revelation received by the Deoñrā when he has worked himself up into a state of spirit-possession, or in the following mechanical way. When the

second wick catches fire from the first, if the flame is strong and flickers but little, a “*Rakṣā*” *Dūbō* is indicated; if the flame is red, a ‘*Masān*’ *Dūbo* (an ancestral spirit or family deity) is indicated; if the flame is whitish and weak, a minor *Dūbō* is indicated.

(2) Vows for Recovery from Diseases .

When the identity of the *Dūbō* is thus determined, the *Deoñṛā* takes up the winnowing basket and goes on rubbing the *āruā* rice (*Khāṛiā*, *Komsōr rūmkūb*) on it and mutters his incantations in a tone scarcely audible to any one. As an instance of these incantations, the following may be cited:—

Pūrūbkē Pūrūbiā, pachchimkē Pachchhimiā !

Uttarkē Uttarāhā, Dakshinkē Kāru Bīr !

Kē mōr deōtā puchhal chāhi,

Bhūṇḍū-ṭīlhā, gāch khūṇṭ lāl pokhair,

Ghar-durā bhūlā bākal, lukal chhāpal;

Je doṣi hāi, sekē lānbē, be-doṣīkē chhōṛ debē.

[*Translation*]:—“Oh, *Purbiā* spirit of the East, O *Pachchhimiā* spirit of the West! Oh *Uttarāhā* spirit of the North! O *Kāru Bīr*, spirit of the South! Do thou find out who is the [offending] spirit or power,—[whether] an Ant-hill [-spirit], or Tree [-spirit], or *Khūṇṭ* [-spirit] or Red Tank [-spirit], or a spirit of the house, or a stray spirit, or a spirit that lives in hiding. Do thou bring the spirit that is guilty, and leave the ones (spirits) that are innocent.”

The rag-wick is now lighted to corroborate the result of the first test. When the identity of the offending *Dūbō* is confirmed, the appropriate sacrifices are revealed

to the Deoñṛā by the *Ḍūbō* and the Deoñṛā promises that these will be duly offered. The head of the family, too, promises the same.

Later when the promised sacrifices have been procured, and generally the patient has improved a little, the Deoñṛā is again called in and a white fowl and other requisite sacrificial things are brought out and handed over to him. The Deoñṛā waves the white fowl round the patient's head, while the patient is made to sit up, if possible. The Deoñṛā at the same time addresses the *Ḍūbō* that caused the trouble, as follows:—

“O Thou So-and-so (names the *Ḍūbō*)! Thou comest from such-and-such place (names). Behold! Here are the sacrifices for thee. Do thou leave the patient, how-much-so-ever the family may have offended thee, or whatever spell the witch may have cast upon thee. Look thou at the offerings we have brought. If thou heedest not, thou shalt fall into the infernal pit, the pit where the *Chāmārs* (leather-workers, the lowest of the low) go, into the pit of Hell!”

As usual, the animals and the fowls are made to pick up and eat the *āruā* rice placed on the ground. They are then let loose as votive offerings to be sacrificed when the patient recovers. The prayer offered to Bhagwān or the Supreme God on such occasions gives a clear idea of these people's conception of the Divine Ruler of men and the spirits as well. While the white cock vowed to Bhagwān (God) eats the rice-grains, the Deoñṛā prays as follows:—

“O Thou Bhagwān (God)! We are offering this to Thee. Do Thou pacify the *Ḍūbōs* and the *Khūñṭs* and *Dāñṭs*. Thou hast given life to all, and appointed work

(*Janam Karam*) for all (i. e. for man as well as the spirits). Do thou make this [offending] *Dūbō* to understand what is what; do thou pacify and control it’.

(2) **Fulfilment of Vows [Daṛōm Oḍebnā; (Dh.) Dārom Ophernā].**—The Deoñṛā is again called in after the patient has recovered from his malady when the vow of sacrifices to the *Dūbō* must be fulfilled. This time the Deoñṛā brings two or more assistants or disciples with him.

After evening meal, the Deoñṛā and his assistants begin their operations for ensuring the final departure of the mischievous spirit and preventing a recurrence of such trouble. The Deoñṛā paints a small earthen vessel with rice-flour and makes a circular diagram on the ground. Then he makes some marks on it with powdered turmeric. Then he makes another circle with powdered charcoal within the former circle. He next places the pot over some *āruā* rice at the centre of the circle. Then some *āruā* rice and a copper coin are put into the vessel, and over the mouth of the vessel the Deoñṛā’s earthen lamp is placed and lighted. The Deoñṛā then makes three vermilion marks on the side of the pot facing him, and places a wreath of flowers or leaves round its neck. All the while he goes on muttering incantations. Finally he prays to Bhagwān or God as follows:—“O Bhagwān! And O my Familiar Spirit! Here we are fulfilling the vow. Do Thou, O Bhagwān, expel all *Dūbōs* from here”. He then pours by the side of burning coals a libation of rice-beer.

Then the Deoñṛā and his assistants begin to chant invocations in their usual sing-song tone while the Deoñṛā goes on rubbing *āruā* rice over the magic winnowing fan all the time. This goes on till about midnight,

when one of the assistants usually gets "possessed" by the offending *Ḍūbō*, and the "possessed" man begins to shake his head, first slowly, and then with increasing rapidity till he becomes fully "possessed." This medium now dances, jumps and makes frantic movements, while the *Deoñrā* sings with great zest, till at last the "possessed" person demands from the *Deoñrā* the rice which he has been manipulating.

This is taken as conclusive indication that the *Ḍūbō* has come there. The *Deoñrā* now addresses the possessed man as the *Ḍūbō* in person and interrogates him as to his name, his "seat", and as to when he will leave the patient's house altogether.

The medium says, "I am such-and-such spirit (names) of such-and-such place (names an ant-hill, tree, or pool), and I will not go." Thereupon the *Deoñrā* arranges one or more sittings or seances. And the same process is repeated until the *Ḍūbō* agrees to leave for good.

Then the *Deoñrā* places before the possessed person a few pieces of burning charcoal over which he sprinkles *āruā* rice from his magic *sūp* and calls upon the the spirit thus :—

"Do thou come, O Spirit (names), and sit down. Thou hast frisked and danced to thy heart's content. Now the pony which thou hast ridden so long is done up". Thereupon the medium falls down as in a swoon. The *Deoñrā* restores the medium to his normal condition by making passes with his hands over his body.

Sometimes the process is repeated for two or more

nights before the Dūbō expresses through the medium's mouth his intention to depart for good.

Then on the following morning the requisite sacrifices are brought out, and members of the family prepare to go out of their house with their cooking-pots and utensils. The Deoñrā next takes up a little twig, splits the greater portion of it into two, and inserts two wicks into it, and lights them. The members of the family, at the bidding of the Deoñrā, cover up their heads with cloth. The Deoñrā, in the manner of a Hindu priest, waves the benedictory flame of the wicks round the heads of each member of the family. He similarly waves the lighted wicks over each votive animal and fowl and then throws away the wicks by passing them between his legs. The Deoñrā next takes up a *singi* or conical iron tube, about three inches long, puts one or two rice-grains into it, or takes up the painted earthen pot. He then calls upon the Dūbō to "ride" the flame of the lighted wicks. As soon as the flame leaps up or emits a "creaking sound", the Deoñrā puts the wick into either the painted pot or into the *singi* and closes up the mouth of the pot or the *singi*, so as to confine the spirit in it. Then another wick is lighted and the same process is repeated with another *singi* so that no remnant or lingering trace of the Dūbō may be left behind. Then the Deoñrā and his assistants with all the articles employed in the operations and also with the necessary sacrifices start from the house for the junction of some cross roads. When the Deoñrā is about to leave the house, he thus exhorts the Dūbō: "Get thee hence. Look! Here we are taking sacrifices for thee". Just at that time, one of his assistants

strikes a hatchet against the beams and posts of the house.

When the Deoñṛā and his party turn their back to the house and start for the cross road, some elderly man or woman throws at the Deoñṛā a pot-ful of ashes mixed with water. When the members of the family start from their house, the Deoñṛā closes the door, nails an iron nail at the entrance of the house and also places some thorns before the door to prevent the Dūbō from re-entering it. Iron and thorns are believed to be objects of fear to the spirits. Then all follow the Deoñṛā and his party in procession and go to a cross-road where the final ceremony takes place.

At the first junction of the road, a spot is cleansed with water. The Deoñṛā draws with rice-flour a square figure with its sides about a cubit long and with two diagonals. A smaller second square with diagonals is drawn within the first, and a third one still smaller within it is drawn with earth from a hearth, and a fourth, the smallest, with powdered turmeric.

Then the Deoñṛā takes up a little *āruā* rice and after adjuring the Dūbō to return to his accustomed "seat" and not to visit the house again, places the rice in the centre of the square. Then the goat or sheep or fowl which is to be offered to the Dūbō is sacrificed by the Deoñṛā and its blood is dropped into the hole of an ant-hill close by.

Under the influence of orthodox Hinduism some of the Deoñṛās have added some additional rites to the above. Some Deoñṛās split up a piece of bamboo and insert in it one or more leaves of the *tūlsi* or sacred basil plant, a piece of a pumpkin-gourd and a little turmeric powder and a copper coin. The split bamboo

is fastened round with white cotton thread. He then lies down on the ground with his head to the east and face to the north and back over the diagram and a hatchet by his side. At a preconcerted signal, the members of the family, one after another, cross over the prostrate body of the Deoñṛā. The head of the family who is the last to cross over the Deoñṛā's body, picks up the hatchet and cuts the bamboo into three approximately equal parts. Then he and the rest of the family move forward without looking back and go to some upland, where they cook their food and spend the day. They generally return home by evening, or on the following morning after spending the night in the house of some neighbour, obviously to put the spirit off the scent.

The Deoñṛā gets up and takes hold of his winowing fan and hatchet. He then takes a little *āruā* rice in his right hand and waves his hand over the magic diagram and addresses the *Dūbō* thus:— "Come to thy *dāñṛ* field, or pool. A 'red' sacrifice and a 'red' feast are awaiting thee there." If a basil leaf and copper have been used, he adds— "Thy *tāmbā tulsi* has been 'cut' ". Then the other votive sacrifices are offered before an ant-hill close by. The meat of the sacrifices are eaten by the Deoñṛā and his assistants, and in no case may be eaten by the patient or any member of the patient's family. The Deoñṛā and his companions cook the meal near a stream or pool and eat it. They then receive their remuneration and depart.

(iii) **Magic means to remove Epidemics.**— When there is an epidemic among men or cattle, the villagers go to a Deoñṛā with some *āruā* rice and a few pice.

With these the Deoñrā divines what spirit is responsible for the trouble and what sacrifices are required to appease the spirit. When by employing one or other of his methods of divination described above (pp. 392-3), the Deoñrā has discovered and revealed the name of the spirit and the sacrifices demanded by it, the villagers raise a subscription to purchase the needed sacrifices. A day is fixed for the Deoñrā to visit the village. If a witch or sorcerer has been named as having put up some spirit to inflict the epidemic upon the village, the culprit is called upon to pay the expenses necessary for the required sacrifices and, on the culprit's refusal to pay it, he or she is visited with the punishment sanctioned by tribal custom (see pp. 190-191 *ante.*), and the needed sacrifices are purchased with subscriptions raised from the villagers.

On the appointed evening the Deoñrā generally with one or two assistants or disciples, comes to the village. He selects a suitable spot. There, the whole night, they chant their incantations with their magic winnowing fan and magic light in the manner described above for a case of individual illness. When the spirit has been coaxed into entering the spirit-vessel or spirit-tube (*singi*) it is conducted along with the sacrifices to the boundary of the village; and there, after some more incantations in the nature of adjurations to the spirit not to trouble the villagers any more, the votive animals or fowls are sacrificed in the usual way or let loose to stray as they please. If fowls or animals are actually sacrificed, the Deoñrā and his companions alone eat the meat. That day all houses in the village are swept clean and all the used cooking-vessels in different

houses and the sweepings and broken winnowing fans and worn-out brooms are thrown away by the women in a heap outside the boundary of the village. Thus is the disease-spirit expelled from the village.

When, however, the Deoñrā's efforts are of no avail, the Khāriā, in the last extremity, turns to *Pōñōmōsōr* or God as represented by the Sun (*Berō*) and its rays (*Giring*), for He is not at this day, at any rate, to the Khāriā a fainiént deity but a living All-Powerful God who holds sway over other Gods and spirits.

Another common means adopted to remove an epidemic among men or cattle in a village, is as follows: The *Siāns* (village-elders), after washing their faces and mouths early in the morning and before they have taken any food, assemble in an open space in the middle of the village. A small space is cleaned with cowdung and water, and one of the elders (preferably the *Kālō*), who knows how to do it, after a ceremonial bath, sits down with his face to the rising Sun. Before him are placed some powdered charcoal in a leaf-cup, and flowers, leaves, oil, rice-grains, *gūr* (molasses), *etc.*, in another leaf-cup. He sprinkles charcoal powder on the cleaned ground, then sprinkles over it the other ingredients from the leaf-cup. These are offered in the name of *Pōñōmōsōr*. Then he pours some milk over the whole, and prays to *Pōñōmōsōr* or *Berō* to remove the epidemic from the village. He then bows down seven times on the ground. Then the remains of the offerings are collected and taken to a tri-junction and left there. This is repeated every day for seven days. On the seventh day a black goat purchased

with subscriptions raised in the village, is offered to the Disease-spirit. The requisite offerings are taken to the boundary of the village where the goat is killed and its blood is dropped on the ground, and the remains of other offerings are left there. They return to some open space outside the village-huts (*basti*), taking with them the head and trunk of the sacrificed goat, and cook the meat and eat it there, but may not bring a bit of it home. Then all return home.

II. The Evil Eye .

The belief in the baleful influence of the Evil Eye is found in most countries and is almost universal among the common folk almost as much as
Nature of the Evil Eye. among the 'primitive' tribes in India. The belief among the Khāriās is that the glance or *nazar* of certain classes of people distil a sort of spiritual poison which injuriously affects the health, growth, and prosperity of persons, cattle, crops and other valued possessions of man on to which the glance is directed. Not only human beings but even certain animals and reptiles such as particular snakes are credited with the possession of the 'evil eye'. The 'evil eye' is believed to be born with its possessor. The venom of the evil eye of a person is believed to prove still more noxious if accompanied by spoken words of malice.

The Khāriā believes that it is women rather than men who possess the evil eye. But some men, too, are said to have bad *ōngōe* or shadow. Their very presence bodes ill. If they accompany a hunting or fishing expedition or join in any other undertaking, it will prove a failure. Accordingly such men are avoided. It is because some

women, known and unknown, may possess the evil eye that, as a precaution, Khāriās going out on a hunting expedition start very early in the morning and take care to see that no woman is astir or within sight. When Khāriās go out to hunt individually they leave the village silently so that no woman may see them.

Effects of the Evil Eye.—The injurious effects of the evil eye directed against any person or object are very various. Some of the evil effects that the Khāriā apprehends from it are enumerated below:—

When the evil eye is directed to a healthy child, the child falls sick and constantly cries and begins to pine away, and sometimes small red pustules also appear on its face. If the evil eye is directed to a man while eating, or rather to his food, the man loses his appetite or suffers from indigestion. The evil eye, when directed to a pregnant woman, may cause difficult labour. The evil eye of the witch is believed by the Khāriās to be particularly stimulated into activity at the sight of the gaudy dress or ornaments of young men and women; and whenever the evil eye is directed to the well-dressed Khāriā beau or belle dancing at the village *ākhṛā*, the person falls down in a fainting fit. Such fits may also be due to spirit-possession. At times more serious consequences flow from the evil eye of the witch: A drop of blood mysteriously appears on the gala dress of a young man or woman; and serious illness, overtakes the person within a short time. Food, like dress, is a favourite target for the evil eye. Khāriā women are particularly anxious about the rice-flour they prepare on some festive occasions to make bread with. If the rice-flour happens to attract the evil eye of a witch, or the “shadow” (*lōngōe* or *chhāiñ*) of a

ghost, the bread prepared out of it will either be imperfectly baked, or emit a foul smell, or cause diarrhæa or other sickness to those who partake of such bread. Generally, the evil eye of a witch or sorcerer directed against food or drink is believed to poison it.

If the evil eye falls on a cow or a she-buffaloe the animal suddenly ceases to yield milk or begins to yield very little milk, and it is even said that in some cases blood comes out of the teats in place of milk. If the evil eye falls on a man's standing crops, the crops wither away or, if already ripe, fall off or rot away.

It is not only witches and sorcerers or men with a bad "lōngōi" or shadow, whose glance has naturally a mischievous potency in it which causes harm to other people's food, drink, cattle and crops. There are some situations which may invest the most amiable person with a power of the nature of the evil eye. A curious instance of such power believed to infect the human eye in certain conditions is the following custom still in vogue amongst some Khāriās, and among certain other tribes of Chōtānāgpūr as, for example, the Orāons. When two women of the same Khāriā village give birth to children in the same half of the moon, they are not allowed to see each other for the first fortnight or so after delivery. Then on an appointed day, the two women are led blind-folded from opposite directions to a spot fixed beforehand, and then the coverings over the eyes of the two women are taken off simultaneously. It is believed that if the cloth over the eyes of one of the women is taken off before that over the eyes of the other, the glance of the former will forthwith attract to her own breasts all the milk in

the breasts of the other woman, so that the child of the latter will pine to death for want of mother's milk. And accordingly the greatest precaution is taken to avoid such a predicament. This custom, too, is now falling into disuse. 98

Again it is not human eyes alone that may possess such evil power. The eyes of certain animals and reptiles, too, are credited with mischievous energy. Thus the *Dhōrā* snake (a huge snake with black and white stripes on its skin) is believed to have a particularly "evil eye" which is able to cause disease and death through its glances. The sight of this serpent in the month of *Āṣāḥ* (June and July) is particularly dreaded. On meeting such a snake some *Khārīās* forthwith go home, take a handful of paddy or *māsō* pulse and fry it with their own hands, so that the "evil eye", or rather its poison may, by sympathetic magic, burst as these grains do on the frying-pan. This fried grain is not eaten by any adult man or woman, but is distributed among the children.

Methods of warding off the Evil eye.—Among the various devices used to ward off the evil eye some are enumerated below:—

(1) To divert the evil eye from a child, a black mark with soot or lamp-black or other substance is made on its forehead before it is taken out of the house. Amulets such as *cowṛi* shells are also worn on the neck or waist of a child for the same purpose.

(2) To divert the evil eye from his crops, the *Khārīā* cultivator plants in the middle of his standing

98. See S. C. Roy, *Orāon Religion and Customs*, pp. 104-5.

upland crops or of his fruit- or vegetable-garden a wooden pole over which is placed, upside down, an earthen vessel with its up-turned bottom painted black and white.

(3). To prevent harm to the vegetable plants in one's kitchen garden, an earthen-ware vessel is painted all over with black lines and circles on the outside and set up with bottom upwards on a short post planted in the garden.

(4). To prevent harm to paddy or other crops in one's fields, a *Tiril* or *Keoñd* (*Diospyros tomentosa*) branch is planted in the field and its top-end is split in two and the bone of a bullock or of a cow is inserted at the split end.

(5). Three or four vertical lines are drawn just outside the door of the hut of a sick Khāriā in order to ward off the evil eye or evil attentions of witches.

(6). Opprobrious names are sometimes given to children in order to avert the danger of the evil eye which is said to be attracted or rather roused to malicious activity by sweet-sounding names.

(V). Luck (śaē).

The Khāriās have a peculiar belief regarding 'luck' in matters of paddy or rice. Some have a special good luck called 'śaē' in this respect. Many people possess 'śaē' in varying degrees. Those who have it are blessed on the threshing-floor with a much larger proportion of rice-grains and a very small proportion of chaff than in other people's paddy-crops. Some men, again, may deprive others of their 'śaē'. A man who has for his familiar spirit a "*Chōr-dewā*" (lit., a thief-spirit) acquires the

power of attracting to himself or taking away the 'śaē' of other people by looking at their threshed paddy. Men who are suspected of this malignant power are not permitted to enter any Khāriā's threshing-floor (*tolo*).

With regard to the *Chōr-dewā* spirit it is believed that it is a diminutive spirit carrying a miniature *bāhingā* or carrying-pole with a carrying-net and basket suspended, one at either end of it. With these it visits peoples' threshing-floors or granaries at night and steals a little paddy, and with the paddy thus stolen, the *sāi* of the owner disappears, and the paddy left in the threshing-floor or the granary will mostly turn into chaff. In order to ward off the evil eye of a person from mysteriously damaging a Khāriā's threshed rice, the owner of the rice, when leaving the threshing-floor for his meals or for any other purpose in the day-time, twists together some paddy-straws into a *Jepūng-thūnkū* (straw-bundle) and places the bundle on the heap of paddy. To prevent a *Chōr-dewā* from stealthily damaging the paddy on the threshing-floor at night, the owner scatters ashes over the paddy on the threshing-floor at evening.

VI. Witchcraft and Sorcery.

Among the Khāriās, as among most other aboriginal tribes on the same level of culture, there is a strong belief in the potent evil powers of the witch. Some persons undergo a course of training in secret from persons believed to be adepts in witch-craft. The training and the *modus operandi* of witches and sorcerers, are the same among the Khāriās as among other agricultural aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur and the adjoining areas. These have been

described in some detail in our monograph on "*Orāoṇ Religion and Customs*", and the inquisitive reader is referred to that book. ⁹⁹

Conclusion.—Magic as much as, if not even more than, Religion proper, dominates custom and pervades the daily life of the Khāriās as of other neighbouring tribes. As we have said, the methods of magic and witchcraft, practised in Chōṭā-Nāgpur and its adjoining territories inhabited by the Khāriās, would appear to be generally common among Khāriās as well as among their neighbours, both aboriginal and low-class Hindu. In fact, there are good reasons to believe that the methods of magic and witchcraft now practised in common by practitioners of the magic art among Hindu castes and Hinduised tribes of these parts as well as among the comparatively advanced aboriginal tribes such as the Ōrāoṇs, the Mūṇḍās, the Santāls, the Hōs, and the Khāriās, have been in great part derived from one main common source, probably the ancient Draviḍian peoples of Mediterranean origin. Not that the pre-Draviḍian tribes like the Khāriās were altogether strangers to the art. In fact, magic incantations even among the rudest aboriginal tribes have always been resorted to, and believed to work wonders; the occult power of certain words, names and numbers, and even of animals and reptiles, and certain herbs, grains and other inanimate objects is dreaded. But the few meagre methods of the magic art that appear (from the practices of the more primitive among these tribes, such as the Kōṛwās, the Birhōrs, and the Juāngs) to have been originally known, are very simple and natural. As for the Khāriās and other

⁹⁹. S. C. Roy, *Orāoṇ Religion and Customs* (1928), pp. 257-311.

agricultural aboriginal tribes, who have long lived in contact with low Hindu castes, magic methods, even more than religious beliefs and rites, have been considerably developed through loan elements from the culture of their comparatively civilised Hindu neighbours.

The original magicians or *Deonṛās* of the Khāṛiās and other Mūṇḍā tribes would appear to have been persons of a naturally psychic temperament who by concentrating their whole mind on some formula or on some movement of the body, or on some object such as an axe, would find himself transported out of the world of the senses and, in this 'dissociated' or semi-dissociated state, either see visions or hear voices supposed to be of supernatural beings, and make revelations, sometimes by gestures and symbols generally accompanied by express words, of his inner experiences, and thus act as mediums of spirit-communication. We have witnessed such phenomena in more than one aboriginal tribe. We have also witnessed phenomena of supposed spirit-possession during dances, and have further heard individual Khāṛiās, Mūṇḍās, Orāons, and Hōs narrate their personal experiences of visions of spirits either in dreams or in trances. But the elaborate magic art that is now generally practised throughout the Central Belt of India would, as suggested above, appear to have been developed probably by the Draviḍians of India and learnt from them by some of their aboriginal neighbours. The Khāṛiā Magician's incantations are mostly worded in the local Hindi spoken by his Hindu neighbours of the lower classes most of whom would appear to be, more or less, of Draviḍian extraction, with perhaps a veneer of Āryan blood in a few of them. Most of the original teachers, and even

several of the reputed teachers of the magic art at the present day, belong to the lower class Hindu castes; and the deities and spirits named in the incantations are mostly Hindu deities.

Among the comparatively more primitive and unsophisticated tribes such as the Birhōrs, the Juāngs and the Korwās, the capacity for personal dissociation appears to be more wide-spread and, in some individuals, almost spontaneous, concentration in certain movements of the body or the repetition of certain formulas generally serving as a stimulus: In such a state of dissociation, consciousness appears to vanish for the time being. The Khāriā magician or sorcerer, like his Hindu colleague, is generally a specialist trained in methods of dissociation. He consciously practises dissociation with a definite end in view, chants traditional invocations, makes traditional gestures and observes traditional rites, and does not lose consciousness. When his divided self feels the presence of a spirit, he unconsciously draws upon his traditional lore and tribal beliefs in spirits and witches; and thoughts and ideas thus originating in his divided self are expressed as the communications of some spirit.

As for witch-craft, too, the Khāriā's original conception of the witch would appear to have been that of a woman endowed by nature with the evil eye. A genuine Khāriā witch is born and not made. The developed art and training in that art would also appear to have been introduced generally by low-class Hindu practitioners.

Unlike the minister of religion who depends for the fulfilment of his desires entirely on the supernormal

Powers that he worships, and derives confidence and mental strength from his worship, the Khārīā magician, like his confrères among other peoples, relies for the success of his operations primarily on his own power of control of the supernormal through the mystic impersonal force believed to inhere in the spell and the rite and in the strength of his own will and emotional tension. The mixture of threat and coaxing in the invocations and adjurations addressed to the spirits clearly indicate this. When exorcising a spirit from a patient, the *Māṭi* commands the spirit, under oath or under the penalty of a curse, by some such adjuration as the following,—"I adjure thee to leave the patient, by the oath of cows shouldst thou be a Hindu spirit, and by the oath of pigs shouldst thou be a Muhammadan spirit. Shouldst thou disregard the oath, thou shalt be cast into the pit of Hell, the pit into which *Dhōbis* and *Chāmārs* are consigned. Look! I am cutting up this turmeric [to bind the oath]. From to-day do thou heed this oath". The spirit is also coaxed into leaving the patient with such promises as the following,—“From to-day do give up this seat (patient). I am providing a new seat for thee. There, to thy heart's content, may thou hop and jump, frisk and play, chat and talk. Listen to my words; and I shall provide thee with new clothes to wear, strings and tassels to adorn thy hair with, and rings for thy ears and toes.”

It is the White Magician who, to achieve curative and other beneficent ends, seeks, like the minister of religion, the aid of certain good spirits and beneficent deities as well as of certain beneficent forces in which personality is believed to be immanent.

CHAPTER XIV.

Folklore and Myths, Amusements and Games.

Even the rudest peoples seek to understand the origin of things, the course of nature, and the habits and characteristics of other creatures and the properties of plants and herbs and roots. Old men, moments of leisure, impart their traditional knowledge and ideas in the form of folk-tales and myths and the knowledge and wisdom based on observation and experience of generations, in the form of riddles and proverbs, to the younger people in their, Young persons and children also seek amusement not only through various games and dances but also by propounding riddles to their companions who compete with one another in solving them.

We give below some traditional lore current among Dūdh Khārīās, and a brief notice of their tribal games and amusements. Although in some of these we may discern traces, more or less marked, of borrowing from other peoples, whether as accretions or embellishments or as additions to their own stock of folklore and folk-practices, —much of their folk-lore is indigenous to the tribe.

I. Folklore regarding the Origin of Things.

The Khārīā's traditional account of the creation of things is as follows :—

1. **Creation of the Earth.**—Pōnōmōsōr or God created the Earth but the method of creation is not known.

When the Earth was created it was filled first with plants and trees.

2. Creation of Man.—After the creation of the Earth and vegetation, Pōnōmōsōr fashioned two clay images, the one of a man and the other of a woman. These (*Ficus Indicus*) clay figures He placed inside the hollow of a holed banyan tree. As the milky juice of the tree dropped into their mouths, the images became animate. They grew up and then, coming out of the tree, began to dwell in the caves of the hills.

3. Original Condition of Man.—They knew no clothing then, and lived on wild fruits and roots. Soon they were blessed with offspring and, in course of time, the race of man multiplied, so much so that there ensued great scarcity of food.

4. Creation of Birds.—Men then prayed to Pōnōmōsōr to provide them with another kind of food. So Pōnōmōsōr sent a violent storm. The leaves of trees were blown high up on the air and were transformed into different kinds of birds, according to the respective sizes of the leaves. Man began to kill the smaller birds for their food.

5. Destruction of Mankind by Flood.—The bigger carnivorous birds were called *Rāvaṇa* or *Kānhār* (Vulture) and lived on the smaller birds. The vultures multiplied, and thus their food fell short. So they now prayed to Pōnōmōsōr for more food. In the meantime, Pōnomōsōr was displeased with "Man" for his cutting down fruit-bearing trees. So He sent torrents of rain to destroy man by flood. Many men died by drowning, as all the country was under water. But a few clever

persons covered themselves up with *gūngū* (*Bauhinia Vahlii*) leaves and fled to the hill-tops. So they survived the flood. After eight days, water subsided and land appeared again and dried up. So those persons began to live happily, and the dead ones were eaten up by the vultures.

6. Destruction of Man by Fire.—Once again the sons of man displeased Pōnōmōsōr; and once more the vultures prayed to Pōnōmōsōr for food. Pōnōmōsōr told them that they had got plenty of food before; but the vultures informed Him how the human beings escaped to the hill-tops by covering themselves with *gūngūs*. Now Pōnōmōsōr sent a rain of fire to wipe off man from the face of the earth. It lasted for seven days and seven nights. All men died except a brother and a sister. They were saved by Sembhu Rājā and Ḍākāi Rāṇi, who are spirits living underneath the earth and holding sway over *Jōvis* or marshy places. The birds were not destroyed as they flew up to the sky and remained there as long as the destructive fire lasted.

7. Search for Man.—Pōnōmōsōr soon repented of His destruction of man. Then He sent down His messenger-birds to find out if there was any human being still living. So under the leadership of *Dhechūā Chowkidar*, the birds *Kāwā Bhāṇḍārī*, *Kuhu Koṭwār*, and *Lipi Susārī*, went out in different directions in search of man.

8. Colour of Birds.—All birds were in the beginning white. But, during the search for man, the *Dhechūā* sat on *Burat* trees and became black; the *Kūhu* sat sometimes on trees and sometimes on the ground and hence it became brownish black; and the *Lipi* sat on the ground only and became brown. These birds had to return

every night to Pōnōmōsōr to give Him an account of their day's work.

10. Traces of Man.—After fifteen days, it was found that only the *Kāwā* was growing stouter day by day while the other birds were getting thinner. So Pōnōmōsōr suspected the *Kāwā* of negligence of duty and asked it the reason why it was getting stouter every day. The *Kāwā* said, "I am not neglecting my duty ; but I am not disheartened by repeated failures as the *Ḍhechuā* and others are". The real fact was that one day the *Kāwā* came upon the epicarps or skins of the fruits thrown over the *jōvi* by *Ḍākāi Rāṇī* and *Sembhu Rājā* for the sustenance of the human brother and sister, and discovered the brother and sister concealed under the *jōvi*. So he came every day to eat the rinds of fruits and was thus becoming stouter every day. At length the *Kāwā* (crow) found that the truth could no longer be concealed and so he divulged it to Pōnōmōsōr. Pōnōmōsōr was greatly rejoiced and asked His bird-messengers to bring the human couple to him. *Sembhu Rājā* and *Ḍākāi Rāṇī* refused to give them up. Then Pōnōmōsōr Himself came down to the *Rājā* and *Rāṇī* and asked them for the human pair. *Ḍākāi Rāṇī* said, "You created men and destroyed them by fire. And now when food (sacrificial food for Pōnōmōsōr) has fallen short, You seek for men!". Pōnōmōsōr said, "I shall not destroy man any more! Henceforth you will get seven shares and I shall take only one share of mankind". The seven shares of *Ḍākāi Rāṇī* are the bodies of men, subject to all sorts of diseases, and the one share of Pōnōmōsōr is the soul of man after death. This is why so long as a man is alive Pōnōmōsōr has no claim

on him. On this promise the two human beings (the brother and the sister) were handed over to Pōnōmōsōr.

The Khāriās believe that Dākāi Rāṇī dwells in *jōvis* or marshes and pools. If the water of any pool or spring takes on a dark hue by the cloud casting its shadow on it, or from any other cause, the Khāriās say that Dākāi Rāṇī is coming out of her house (the pool or *jōvi*), and they at once run away. If any Khāriā goes to a *jōvi* or any marshy place, which may be the abode of Dākāi Rāṇī, and after that falls ill, his people offer to Dākāi Rāṇī some sacrifice to avert her ill-will. They take some *āruā* rice and powdered turmeric and throw them into the pool or spring or marsh as offerings to Dākāi Rāṇī. Khāriās will never cultivate a *jōvi* or marshy land. If they do so Sembhu Rājā and Dākāi Rāṇī will, it is believed, give trouble to them. The Khāriās say that Dākāi Rāṇī is also called Dōrōh-Dāe (*lit.*, wife of the depth). 100

(II) Origin and Migrations of the Khāriās.

1. **Origin of the Khāriā Tribe.**—The following legend is recounted by the Dūdh Khāriās of the Rāñchi District regarding the origin of the tribal name 'Khāriā'. Long-long-ago, an old Khāriā couple wandering through a forest discovered an infant over whom a cobra was spreading its hood like an umbrella. The old couple took the infant home and nursed and brought him up together with their own son of about the same age. When the

100. Compare the similar myth among the Mūṇḍās about Singboṅgā and Nāgē-erū. *Vide, The Journal of the Bihār and Orissā Research Society* (1916 Vol. II, pp. 207 ff.) and *The Mundas and their Country*, Appendix I, pp. IX-X.

two boys grew up, they thought of trying their skill at riding a horse. The son of the old couple could not mount the horse; and so he took the horse to a tree and cut a *kheri*, but the other boy rode away on the horse and was elected king of the country, and as he had been miraculously protected at birth by a hooded cobra or *Nāg*, he and his descendants constituted the *Nāgvamśi* family. As the son of the old couple cut a "*Kheri*", they came to be called "*Kheriās*" or "*Khāriās*". This incident is said to have occurred at a place called *Palkō dā* (lit., spring water), now identified with the present village of Pālkōṭ in the Gumlā Sub-Division of the Rāñchi District. Pālkōṭ, it may be noted, is a former seat of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Rāj family, and even to this day the seat of a junior branch of the same family. But this supposed origin of the Khāriās in Chōṭā-Nāgpur is in conflict with the tradition of the original habitat of the tribe in and near what is now the Pāṭnā District. Evidently this legend is an adaptation of the Mūṇḍā legend of the origin of the ancestor of the present Rāj family of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. ¹⁰¹

2. A Variant of the above legend of Origin.— Another Khāriā legend of origin current among the tribe in the

101. The Khāriā legend given above was communicated by Suleman Kūlu, a Khāriā of village Jamdohar in the Simḍegā Sub-Division of the Rāñchi District. Similar legends about the origin of the Nāg-vamśi family from the foster-son of an aboriginal couple are current among the Mūṇḍās as well as among the Orāoṇs of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, each of whom, like the Khāriās, claim the ancestor of the *Nāg-vamśi* family as the foster-son of one of their respective ancestors. The Mūṇḍā legend (see *The Mūṇḍās and their Country*, p. 138) is, however, supported in material particulars by the *Annals of the Nāg-vamśi Rāj Family*. (see *Man In India*, [1928] Vol., VIII, pp 260 ff)

Central Provinces is given by Russel in the third volume of his *Tribes and Castes of C. P.*: It is as follows:—

“The Kharia legend of origin resembles that of the Munda, and tends to show that they are an elder branch of that tribe. They say that a child was born to a woman in the jungle, and she left it to fetch a basket in which to carry it home. On her return she saw a cobra spreading its hood over the child to protect it from the sun. On this account the child was called Nagvansi (of the race of the cobra) and became the ancestor of the Nagvansi Rajas of Chota Nagpur. The Kharias say this child had an elder brother, and the two brothers set out on a journey, the younger riding a horse and the elder carrying a ‘*kawar*’ or *banghy* with their luggage. When they came to Chota Nagpur the younger was made king, on which the elder brother also asked for a share of the inheritance. The people then put two caskets before them and asked them to choose one. One of the caskets contained silver and the other only some earth. The elder brother chose that which contained earth, and on this he was told that the fate of himself and his descendants would be to till the soil and carry *banghys* as he had been doing. The Kharias say that they are descended from the elder brother, while the younger was the ancestor of the Nagvansi Rajas who are really Mundas. They say that they can never enter the house of the Nagvansi Rajas because they stand in the relation of elder brother-in-law to the Ranis who are consequently prohibited from looking on the face of a Kharia. This story is exactly like that of the Parjas connection with Rājās of Bastar.” 102

102. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*. Vol. III pp 445-6.

3. **Original Home and Subsequent Migrations of the Khāriās.**—A more elaborate legend recounted to us by some Dūdh Khāriās of the Rānchi District runs as follows:—

The ancestors of the Khāriās originally lived in a place called Pāṭnā,¹⁰³ and had a fort of their own called 'Sri Pāṭnā' *alias* 'Kāoriā : Khōl' which covered an area of fourteen square miles. This fort had four gates made of gold and silver. The pillars of the palace were also of gold and silver. The Khāriā Rājā had a servant who at first served him faithfully but later proved faithless. The Rājā punished the servant, whereupon the latter sought to kill the Rājā and succeeded in his traitorous design. The rebel servant and his followers even abducted the only child of the Rājā. The Rājā's widow exhorted her 'troops' to fight the enemy, under her leadership; but they declined. So the widowed Rāṇī (queen) left the country and led to the south such of her subjects as would follow her lead. But some Khāriās migrated north towards "Moreng" where their descendants, it is said, still dwell, though now speaking an alien tongue. The main body of the Khāriās marched south under the lead of the Rāṇī, and stopped at a place called Hikamarduni. A Māhārā or Āhīr herdsman named Nand and a herdsman named Gāngi accompanied the horde in charge of the cattle which they drove with a myrobalan (*Phyllanthus Emblica*) goad. Nand

103. This place is generally identified with the modern town of Pāṭnā or ancient Pāṭaliputra. But it may be noted that "Paṭṭana" (of which the name 'Patna' is a corruption) is the Saṁskṛit word for a 'town' in general; and the name is even to this day applied as a suffix to several towns (e. g., Musli-paṭṭam, Seringa-paṭṭam). In some towns in the Feudatory States, the portion of the town outside the Rājā's fort or seat is called 'Patnā' (e. g. at Bonaigarh).

Māhārā used to play sweetly on a bamboo-flute (*tiriyō*). After various adventures on the journey they at length reached the 'Khāriā-Ghāt' where they made a long halt. Because they came to these parts first they were called *Delki*. From Khāriā Ghāt one branch went further south and reached Gāngpur and Sambalpur. Another branch marched south and south-east: These were the progenitors of the Khāriās of Mānbhūm, Singbhūm and Mayurbhañj. The third and last branch marched to the hills and plateaus of what is now the Rāñchi District. There they cleared the jungles and cultivated the land. They were the progenitors of the present day Dūdh Khāriās. They were then divided into nine original *gotras* or clans. Each clan had a chief called *Reā*, and the chief had assistants called *Kallokis*. ¹⁰⁴

The Dūdh Khāriā legend regarding the division into the nine original clan has been given above (pp. 137-9). As their population increased, each clan founded several villages. The *Kerkeṭṭā* clan outnumbered the other clans. Their original (*Bhūiñhāri*) village was Pōrhā. The descendants of the original founder multiplied enormously. Of the ancestors of the Kerkeṭṭā clan of Pōrhā, it is said, that once on the day of the *Jānkōr* or *Phāgu* festival, the head of the eldest branch of the family with his wife went with oil in a small earthen cup (*diyōm*) to the river to bathe by way of preparation to perform the *Jānkōr Pūjā*. But they found many of their relatives already taking their bath all along the stream, and among them were several persons related to them as sisters-in-law, daughters-in-law, and other tabooed relations. As under Khāriā social regulation

104. These names are not known to the Khāriās of the present day.

a man may not look at her younger brothers' or younger cousins' or sons' or nephews' wives bathing, they had to go much further up the river to find a suitable part of it for themselves to bathe in. Arrived at a suitable place to bathe in, they put down the oil-cup on a stone and went down into the river to bathe. When they returned to the place where they had left the oil-cup they found, to their surprise, that the earthen cup had turned into a stone-cup. From this they concluded that the gods desired that they should settle there. And accordingly, Gālāi, as the man was named, and his family settled there, and the village founded by them came to be called Gālāiṭōli. In time, men of different Khārjā clans founded numerous villages in the valleys of the Sankh and the Koel rivers in the Rāñchi District.

4. Origin of the Custom of making cuts on trees along the route of a Bridal Procession.—We have referred to the Dūdh Khārjā practice of a bridal party making notches on prominent trees on the way to the bridegroom's house. (See p. 250 *ante*). The origin of this custom is sought to be explained by the following legend:—Once there lived in the central plateau of the Rāñchi District (called "Nagpur" in the legend), a Khārjā who had seven sons and seven daughters. Neither in his own village nor within easy distance of it was there any Khārjā family of a clan other than his own. So he had to bring wives for his sons from the remote Biru Parganā (in the Simḍegā Sub-division of the Rāñchi District). As is not very unusual amongst primitive tribes, the newly-married wife of one of his sons stealthily left her husband's place to go to her parents'. But on the way she came across a dense forest in which she lost her

way, and never reached home. The girl's husband and his parents went to the girl's parents' place to bring her back. But, to their surprise and regret, they learnt that she had not returned to her parents' village. All search for her proved fruitless. Thenceforth the Dūdh Khāriās made it a rule to cut small notches on prominent trees on the way to a bride's parents' village, so that she may find her way back to her parents' place, when desired. ¹⁰⁵

iii. Origin of Agriculture

1. **Origin of Corn.**— Pōnōmōsōr taught many useful things to the human couple saved from the universal conflagration by Ḍākāi Rāṇī. According to His advice, they cut down trees and burnt them. On the spot thus cleared, they sowed a pumpkin seed given by Pōnōmōsōr. It germinated and the plant grew up. It bore three fruits. Of these the first fruit was found to grow very slowly while the second one was developing very rapidly. The second fruit ripened first. Accordingly, under the instruction of Pōnōmōsōr, they plucked it and offered the head of the gourd in His name, saying "*Heḍōṅg bokob ḍomtē āmtē tertejḍing*". "(Here, Lord, I give Thee the head)". They found that the gourd was full of *gondli* or *gūḍlū* (*Panicum miliare*) but, being ignorant of the art of cooking, they powdered the *gondli* and ate it.

This is why even to this day the Khāriās always eat powdered *gondli* (*Guḍlu kuṇṛā*) before taking boiled *gūḍlū*, and at a feast they first put down some powdered *gūḍlū* (*panicum miliare*) in the name of Pōnōmōsōr, and then drink rice-beer.

105. This legend and the preceding one were supplied to us by B. Nus Kerkeṭṭā, a Khāriā school-master.

2. **Origin of Upland Rice.**—This *gūḷlū* in the *tūmbā* (gourd) lasted till the third fruit became ripe, They again did as before under the instructions of Pōnōmōsōr. This time the gourd was found to be full of *gōḷā* or *gōṛā* rice. To this day at the “Ñyōdem” festival the Khāriās offer some sacrifice to Pōnōmōsōr before they eat new upland *gōḷā* or *gōṛā* rice.

3. **Origin of Low-land Rice.**—The first and the longest fruit became ripe last of all. Again, according to Pōnōmōsōr’s instructions they offered a special sacrifice before cutting its head. They found it full of *Goe’lō-bā* (*dōn* or low-land rice). To this day the Khāriās offer a cock to Pōnōmōsōr in their rice fields before cutting paddy. They call it *Dōhor Pūjā*. It is Pōnōmōsōr who taught them how and when to sow rice.

(iv). **Origin of the Domestication of Buffaloes.**

There lived a widow with her only son, who was very idle. He used every day to go to plough his fields. But arriving at his fields, he would leave the bullocks standing, and amuse himself by shooting at birds with his pellet bow. One day he brought the game to his house and his mother asked him, “Do you plough or run after birds?”. He answered, “Mother the bird sat on the yoke and I killed it.”

When the time for sowing came, the mother carried to the field some seeds for the boy to sow. The son took the seeds and began to sow them in another man’s field; but, when rebuked by the owner of that field, he pretended to have done so by mistake. Then he took the remaining seeds to still another man’s field, and began to sow the seeds there. Here, too, he was stopped after he had sown some seeds. Then he went to a third neighbour’s field and

acted likewise. In this way he finished sowing, in others' fields, all his seeds. At this his mother became very angry and attempted to beat the son with a stick. The son ran away and entered a fox's hole. The mother thrust her stick inside the hole. As she did this, the boy attached to the end of the stick the entrails of a goat which had been brought by the fox and kept in the hole. When the mother saw the blood-stained stick, she thought she had killed her only son, and so returned home in grief.

Then the boy came out and went home to her mother, who was then preparing bread. She saw him and, taking him to be the spirit of her dead son, threw a bread towards him. But this was carried away to the jungles by the wind, and the boy ran after it. He caught the bread inside a deep forest, and there he found wild buffalo-calves whose parents had gone away to graze. These young buffaloes concealed the boy in the hollow of a tree, lest the parent-buffaloes on their return should kill him. At night the buffaloes returned and scented human smell and enquired of their calves about it, but they feigned ignorance. After some days, at the intercession of the calves, who revealed the truth to their parents, the buffaloes promised not to kill the boy. The boy stayed on, and used to look after the calves. He constructed a bamboo flute and used to blow it and, whenever he did so, the animals would come to him at the sound. He lived happily on buffalo-milk.

One day, while the boy was combing his hair, a lock of his hair came out in the comb. He thought to himself, "If I throw it into a pool, the fishes will eat it up and die. If I throw it on the ground, the buffaloes may be detected." So he took a wild *bael* fruit (*Ægle mar-*

melos) and took out its shell. Inside this he put the lock of his hair, and closed it up. Then he threw it into a river. Somewhere down the river a princess who was bathing caught it and, when she opened it, found within it a beautiful lock of man's hair which fascinated her. She went home and refused to eat anything. At last, at the importunities of her parents, she told them, "Unless I get the owner of this beautiful lock of hair for my husband, I shall never more take any food and drink". The king despatched messengers to seek out and bring to him the owner of the hair.

One day when the boy was milking the she-buffaloes, a crow began to drink milk from a milk-vessel kept close by. When the boy tried to drive it away, the crow picked up his flute and fled away with it. The crow then dropped the flute in the afore-said king's court-yard. The boy, who ran in search of his flute, followed the crow and entered the king's court-yard. There the princess saw him and was enamoured of him and of his beautiful hair. They were married. At his request a big enclosure was constructed. The boy then blew his flute from an elevated position. The buffaloes heard and recognised the tune and forthwith came there in a herd. A number of them entered the enclosure. Those who could not enter the enclosure returned to the jungle, and these became the ancestors of our present-day wild buffaloes. Those that entered the enclosure were the ancestors of our present-day domesticated buffaloes.

II. Myths regarding Certain Khārīā Spirits and Rites.

1. Origin of Gōreā-Pūjā and of the Custom of the "Last Sheaf".—Once a Khārīā living near village Pālkōṭ (now in

the Gūmlā Sub-division of Rāñchi) reaped his paddy-crops and took the reaped paddy to his threshing-floor with the help of a number of young men and women. He left a sheaf of paddy standing in the field which he later asked a man of the *Lohār* (Blacksmith) caste to bring from the field. The *Lohār* thereupon went to the field and found it full of sheaves laden with paddy-grains. He came and reported the strange phenomenon to the Khāriā owner of the field. The owner of the field went there and was amazed and overjoyed at the spectacle. On looking around he saw at one corner of the field a pig with white and black stripes on its skin (*Sālyā būnūi*) and took it to be the *Gōreā* spirit in disguise. And he offered the sacrifice of a pig with black and white stripes on its skin to the *Gōreā* spirit, and vowed to offer periodical sacrifices to the spirit. Since then the periodical worship of *Gōreā* has been instituted among the Khāriās. And it has further become customary to leave the "Last Sheaf" standing on one of his fields when the Khāriā cultivator harvests his rice-crops.

2. **Myths regarding the Bārndā Spirit.**—(1) Once upon a time, on the Sarki Pāhār in the (Barway) parganā of the Rāñchi District, during the Karam Pūjā, a young Khāriā unmarried couple were spending seven days and nights in each other's company. Their friends discovered them on the hill in a compromising position. In their indignation, they killed the lovers and threw their corpses away. The party then went on dancing, but, to their surprise, they found the murdered couple dancing with them. To satisfy their curiosity they went to the spot where the dead bodies lay and found them there lying

dead as before. So they realised that the individuals they saw dancing were really the ghosts of the lovers, and therefore the party fled for life. But the spirit-lovers pursued them until they were promised sacrifices in future at every Khāriā household. Because of the intense love of Bārṇḍā for the girl, Bārṇḍā is also called *Dulhā Deo* or the bridegroom spirit.

(2) A young Orāoṇ lived as a *Ghardiḷjoā* in village Hārti-Ṭāngar Noā-ṭoli in the Barway Parganā of the Rāñchi District. His parents-in-law always rebuked him for his laziness. So he resolved to leave the house, and asked his wife to bring him his *ghūnsi* (waist-string) from a niche in the wall. As soon as his wife put out her hand to take the *ghūnsi*, a cobra, since called *Ghūnsi Nāg*, bit her, and she died. Neighbours assembled on hearing the wailings of the family. One of the neighbours exclaimed, "I have just seen the very couple with a bullock on the boundary of the village". Hearing this, they all proceeded to the boundary of the village, and saw the two walking hand-in-hand with a bullock in front of them. Thenceforth a bullock is sacrificed to the Bārṇḍā spirit. Though slaying a bullock is now taboo to the Dūdh Khāriā, and a buffalo is substituted for it, some still maintain that slaying a bullock for sacrificial purposes is permissible. But even buffalo-sacrifice is now falling into disuse.

(3) Once at a Bārṇḍā Pūjā, a Lohār was watching the Pūjā unobserved from behind the wooden posts of the cattle-shed. When the sacrificial meat was cooked, a *siān* was dividing the meat on as many leaf-plates as there were men present. But on counting the plates over again an extra plate was found. So the meat was put back into the pot from the plates, and the extra plate was thrown

away. Again the meat was divided, and again one plate was found in excess. The counting was repeated many times after throwing away one extra plate and dividing the meat again. But every time there was one plate too many. So, in their perplexity, they looked around them and discovered the Lohār boy and gave the extra plate to him. It was subsequently discovered that the Lohār was really the *Bārṇḍā bhūt*. *Bārṇḍā* is also called *Chulhā Deo* or the Hearth Spirit because he is believed to help to increase the supply of food (produce of the fields).

(4) The wife of *Bārṇḍā*, it is said, had her ears somehow torn off, and accordingly she is called 'Būchi'. This is why those who worship *Bārṇḍā* use a *būchi* pot, i.e., a pot a little broken at the neck, for cooking rice in.

3. **Myth regarding Bāṇḍā.**—Russel names *Bāṇḍā* as the principal deity of the Khāriās, and gives the following legend regarding the origin of that deity. It may be noted that this deity, unless "Bārṇḍā" is meant, is not known to the Hill Khāriās, nor to the Dhelki nor to the Dūdh Khāriās of either Chotā Nāgpur or Jāshpur or Gāngpur. Russel's account of this deity is as follows:—"The principal deity of the Kharias is a hero called Banda. They say an Oraon had vowed to give his daughter to the man who would clear the *Kāns* (*Saccharum spontaneum*) grass, (which infests cultivated fields and is very difficult to eradicate) off a hillock. Several men tried, and last Banda did it by cutting out the roots. He then demanded the girl's hand, but the Oraon refused, thinking that Banda had cleared the grass by magic. Then Banda went away and the girl died, and on learning of this Banda went and dug her out of the

grave, when she came to life and they were married. Since then Banda has been worshipped." 106

(III). Folklore about the Heavenly Bodies.

As we have seen, the Sun is named by the Khāriās as *Berō* and its rays as *Giring*, and the Moon is called *Lerāng*. The stars are called *Simkōm*. Some Khāriās say that the Sun and the Moon are husband and wife and the stars are their children. Others say that the stars are human beings transformed into heavenly bodies.

According to one Khāriā folk-story, Bhagwān or God was constructing a plough and a yoke with his *Koṭlā* or wooden hammer when he saw a *Kurkur* or *Pāṇḍu* bird seated on her egg, and threw His *Koṭlā* at the bird. They became all transformed into stars and fixed in the firmament, and are still in the same position in the sky in relation to one another. *Koṭlā* is the Khāriā's name for the constellation of *Pleiades* which, the Khāriā thinks, resembles a hammer in appearance. The *Kurkur* or dove is identified with the *Aldeburn* and its eggs with the *Hyades*. The Sword and Belt of Orion is identified by the Khāriā with the plough and yoke of Bhagwān. The *Cappella* is called by the Khāriās *Naigōm* or the Blacksmith. The kids in the constellation of *Auriga* are identified with the *Naigōm's* bellows (*Ohapuā*) and fire (*Pasrā*). The *Great Bear* is called the *Khāṭi pāwā* or the 'legs of a bedstead', and the Milky Way as the *Gāi-Gojhūng* or the 'broad cattle-path'.

A year is called *Memōn* in Khāriā. A month is called *Lerāng* (the Moon), as the Khāriās reckon the Lunar

106. R. V. Russel, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III. p. 449. It is likely that the *Bārndā* spirit is really meant.

month of two fortnights. The year is divided into *Kāsā* or the summer, and *Mūrḍā* or the rainy season, and *Rāṅgāsāhā* or the cold season. It is interesting to note that the Khāriās name the months according to the respective appropriate agricultural occupation or produce of each month. Summer or *Kasā* includes the months of *Bāisākh* and *Jaiṣṭha* or *Jeth* (middle of April to middle of June). The months of *Baisākh* and *Jeth* are known as *Bā'-biḷ-tiḷ* (sowing) months ¹⁰⁷. Some Khāriās name the month of *Baisākh* as *Kāsrel* and the month of *Jeth* as *Biḷ-bherel*. The month of *Aṣāṛh* (June-July) is called *Roā lerāṅ* or the transplantation month, because it is in this month that the Khāriās transplant paddy seedlings. It is also by some called *Sor-Koḍā*. *Srāvan* (July-August) is called *Gūḷlū Jerib*. (i. e. the month in which *Gūḷlū* or *Gōndli* is harvested). The months of *Bhādō* or *Bhādrā* (August-September) and *Āswin* (September-October) are called *Gōḍā-Jerib lerāṅ* or the months when upland rice is harvested. The month of *Kārtik* (October-November) is called *Bondōi-lerāṅ* or the month in which the *Bondōi* festival is celebrated. The months of *Agrahāyan* or *Aghān* (November-December) and *Pous* or *Pūs* (December-January) are called simply *Jerib* or "full" because in those months the average Khāriā has plenty and his granaries are full. The month of *Māgh* (January-February) is called *Māghrel*, because it is in this month that *mā'ghō* or *jāṭāṅgi* is reaped. The month of *Phālgūn* is called *Phāgūrel* or *Phāgū lerāṅ*, as it is

107. In pronouncing the word '*Bā-bid-bid*', the Khāriā utters a suppressed 'n' sound after 'bid', so that we have in previous pages (pp. 335-7 *ante*) spelt the word as '*bā'-bidn-biān*', but the spelling, "*bā-bid-bid*" might have been nearer the correct pronunciation.

the month in which the *Phāgu* festival is celebrated. And the month of *Chaitra* or *Chait* is called *Mūrūn lerāng* because in that month *Mūrūn* or *Mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers are in blossom and are gathered.

(IV.) FOLK-TALES.

Besides origin-myths, religious myths, traditional legends of a *quasi*-historical character relating to ancient migrations and wars and the like, the Khārīās have a fairly large stock of folk-tales, some of them quite fanciful and a few meant to convey some moral lesson. These tales older people recite for the amusement of younger folk in the evenings or at other hours of respite from work. We have not come across any belief in the magico-religious or other beneficial influence of these folk-tales, either on the crops or on the general welfare of the people. The only exception is the legend recited¹⁰⁸ at the *Karam* festival which is obviously borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. A large number of genuine Khārīā folk-tales are beast-tales in which animals speak and act like human beings. The jackal and the sly fox are the principal actors in a large number of these tales. In a few tales the crocodile figures, thus pointing to a period when the tribe lived in the vicinity of some large river like the Ganges. Some tales are of the nature of drolls in which the crass stupidity or some other oddity in the character of a particular individual or community is exhibited. Some tales narrate the miraculous transformation of human beings into trees and the like. We give below,

108. There are different versions of the *Karam* legend current in Chōṭā-Nāgpur. The one generally adopted by the aboriginal tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur is given in *Ōrōñ Religion and Customs*, pp. 244-5.

for want of space, only three specimens of Khāriā folk-tales in as close a literal translation as possible.

(1). Tūrkā, the Old Man.

Once upon a time, there lived in a certain village an old man and his wife (*lit.*, old woman). Every day the old man would go to work in his fields, and at about noon every day his wife would take for him his mid-day meal to the field. On the way a jackal used to stop her and ask, "O Grandmother! O Grandmother! Where are you going?" The woman would reply, "I am taking rice (food) for your grand-father". The jackal would say, "Please, take me up on your shoulders and catch hold of my tail". [She would do as asked]. Before she could reach her old man [in the field], the jackal would finish up the rice. The old man in his wrath would say, "Wait, you jackal! I shall see you some day!" (i. e. You shall rue for it some day"!).

One day the old man had sent his wife to the field to work, and at about mid-day [disguising himself in a woman's clothes] he started for the field with food for his wife. The jackal came running out of the jungle, shouting, "O Grand-mother! Where are you off to?" The man replied, "I am taking rice meal for your Grand-father." The jackal said,—“Do, please, carry me on your shoulders”. [The man complied]. When the jackal got up on his shoulders, the old man cut off its tail. The jackal got down and fled away, saying,—“Wait, old man! How will you save [i.e. I shall see how you save] your pumpkin gourds and beans [from my depredations]?”

Thereafter the jackal would come every night to eat up the pumpkins till none were left. Then it began to

attack the beans, which it would gather and fry by the fire of the [adjoining] refuse-pit ¹⁰⁹.

One day, the old man [with a view to prevent further depredations] hid himself under the refuse-heap. The jackal [as usual] after gathering some beans came running to the refuse-pit to fry the beans. Mistaking the dirty grey clothes of the old man for ashes, the jackal threw the beans on the clothes. The old man lost no time in dealing a blow on the jackal's head. The jackal ran away, saying—"Wait Tūrkā, old man! Your fowls won't escape me".

Thenceforth every night the jackal would come to catch Tūrkā's fowls. One night the old man concealed himself, sickle in hand, in a corner of the room where the fowls were kept. The tail-less jackal [as usual] came and was attempting to catch a fowl, when he pricked it [with the point of his sickle]. The jackal [mistaking the point of the sickle for the beak of a cock] exclaimed, "Ah! There must be big cocks here!" It went away and informed its friends. Other jackals would then come [to seize fowls], but the old man would drive them away, saying [to himself], "Ah! These [beggars] come when I have been waiting for the tail-less jackal!"

For sometime the jackal had not visited the old man's house. One day, the old woman went to the jungle to gather some leaves [for fuel]. There the jackal found her and asked, "O Grand-mother! What are you searching for?" She replied, "[Alas!] Your grand-father is dead. So I came to gather leaves. On

109. The Khārīās set fire to their refuse-heaps so that the smouldering fire may convert the refuse into manure for their fields.

such-and-such a day his funeral-feast occurs. Do you all attend it”.

On her return home, the old woman reported the story to the old man. The day [of the mock funeral feast] arrived. All the jackals came. The old man had [already] instructed his wife to tether the tail-less jackal to a [heavy] wooden mortar, and the other jackals to the posts of the house. [And this was done]. The old woman sat down to prepare bread. And whenever the jackals heard the pan crackle, all of them simultaneously shouted,—“Grand-mother, do give me that bread”. Now the time for distribution of the bread arrived. The old woman went on distributing bread, and [at the same time] the old man came out from his hiding-place and went on striking at the head of each jackal [in its turn]. All the jackals fled away. Last of all, the tail-less jackal ran away as best as it could along with the wooden mortar [as a drag behind him]. When the tail-less jackal arrived at the bank of a tank, it began to dance lustily [and the mortar rumbled like a drum]. The other jackals came up and asked, “Where have you got the *Māndri*-drum?” [The tail-less jackal said:-] “Are there not drums in the tank? (i. e. there are many). Enter ye all [into the tank] with stones tied round your necks”. The other jackals did not stop to think (*lit.*, What mattered it to the jackals?). The tail-less jackal tied a stone at the neck of one [jackal] and pushed it into the tank. When the helpless jackal was emitting a gurgling sound [and bubbles appeared on the surface], the tail-less one shouted to the other jackals,—“There! Listen, Friends! See it is selecting and taking away the choiest drums”. The other jackals, each saying,

"I too shall enter [the tank]", and fastening a stone to its own neck, jumped into the tank. Of the companions of the tail-less jackal only one stayed behind. The jackals of the present day are the descendants of that couple. [This is the reason why they possess short tails].

(2). A Stupid Boy.

In a certain village there lived a woman and her son. The boy had also an elder sister; but she had been married (*lit.*, taken) to a neighbouring village. One day his mother [prepared some bread and] told him,—"Go, my boy, take this bread to your sister". That day there was no cloud in the sky (*lit.*, no cloud covered the sky). So the boy left the house. After he had proceeded a little distance, he turned back to see how far he had come from his house. On turning back he saw his own shadow. At this he said [to himself], "Who is this following me?". But he did not stop. After sometime he again turned back to see whether the [supposed] man was still following him. But how could the shadow not follow him? (i.e., The shadow was naturally there). "Oh Boy! Why are you coming?" [he] said, "Who has called you? Do not come". Shadow [that it was], what could it say? The boy again pursued his course (*lit.*, took the road). But once again [he] turned back. "Oh me!" he cried, "Do not come, O boy, go away! Turn back!—Won't you return?—Do then take a piece of bread". Saying this, he broke [a bread] and gave away a bit of bread [to the shadow-man]. Would the shadow turn back [even then]? (i.e., It would not go away). The boy then saw that [the shadow] was still coming [behind him]. "O Boy, do not come. [There!]

Take then another piece of bread [and do not follow me]," he said, and threw away another piece of bread [to the shadow]. By repeatedly giving away bread in this way, all his bread was finished up. Now, what could the boy do? After all, it was bread that he was taking [to his sister], but now all the bread was gone. But yet he went to his sister. His sister saw him and said, "Why, O brother, have you come?" The boy [—what could he say?—] remained silent. He was ashamed to say [what happened]. It would not be proper [now] to run away [at once]. So he had to stay [however reluctantly]. When all slept after dinner (*lit.*, after eating and drinking), the boy ran away to his own home.

(3). The Crocodile and the Fox.

A certain man was walking along a road. [After he had walked some distance,] his progress was obstructed by a river. There a crocodile [accosted him and said,] "Come! I shall take you across the river". The man accepted [the offer]. As soon as they reached the middle of the river, the crocodile wanted to eat him up. [A fox was standing on the opposite bank]. At this the man said, "No, let us ask the fox whether it is proper [for you] to devour me or not". On this, the fox said, "You both come up on the bank, and I shall [then] give my verdict". As soon as they reached the bank, the fox instructed the man to jump up quickly and make good his escape. The man jumped up and fled [so fast] that even his destination could not be [discovered]. On this the crocodile became very angry with the fox, [and said :] "Wait, fox! I won't let you go, but shall [one day] devour you". Every day the fox used

to go to a tank to look for crabs. The crocodile said to himself, "I shall seize it as soon as it will come". It hid itself under weeds and other growths in the water. When the fox came to the tank and was searching for crabs, the crocodile forthwith caught it by the leg. Then the fox exclaimed, "Ah me! The crocodile has caught at some roots instead of my leg". The crocodile [believing that to be so] released the leg, saying, "Halloo! I thought I had caught the leg itself". The fox [thus let off] jumped away in another direction and laughed to his heart's content (*lit.*, laughed so much,—how shall I describe it? i. e., it baffles description). The crocodile became more angry then ever and said, "Wait; another day you will come [when I shall teach you a lesson]".

The crocodile lay in hiding [the next day]. The fox came and said: "On other days, the crabs used to appear (*lit.*, rest) on the surface; to-day what has happened [that they are not visible]?" As soon as the crocodile heard this, it put out its mouth a little above the water. The fox saw this, and fled away saying,—“Ah me! O Crocodile, thou art here! Just now you would have caught me”. The crocodile [exclaimed]: “Well! Wait Fox, to-morrow I must catch you”. The crocodile hid himself [the next day] in the water. The fox came, and from a distance said, “Another day (i.e., on other days) the crabs used to make a gurgling sound in the water; but to-day has the crocodile driven them all away, or what?” As soon as the crocodile heard this, it gurgled. The fox said, “Ah me! O Crocodile! So here you are! I run away then, friend”. The fox fled away. [The crocodile

exclaimed:] "O Fox! I shall not leave you without devouring you [some day]."

Then the fox used to go every day to eat *Pōṛhō* fruits. "Now I shall have to outwit the fox (somehow)," [thought the crocodile]. The crocodile went to a *Pōṛhō* tree, and covered itself up with *Pōṛhō* fruits. The fox came and saw that a quantity of *Pōṛhō* fruits was piled up, and [so it] said, "On other days the fruits would go on falling down and rolling [on the ground]; but to-day they are lying heaped up. I shall not eat fruits that do not roll down." Hearing this the crocodile in perturbation shook itself so much that the fruits got scattered about to a great distance. Instead of making the fruits drop down [from its body] in small quantities, the stupid crocodile became very much agitated. "Oh me!" cried the fox, "I was just going to be entrapped". The fox fled in confusion (*lit.*, did not know which way to fly). The crocodile said [to itself]: "Oh me! The fox is so crafty! Wait, I shall not let you off without ensnaring you [some day]. To-morrow I shall go into its hole. Surely I shall deceive it".

Next day the crocodile entered the fox's hole. When the fox arrived, it saw claw-marks near the entrance, and reflected, "May not the crocodile have entered the hole?" Then it exclaimed, "Oh Hole! O Hole!" The crocodile was delighted and thought (*lit.*, said), "To-day I shall outwit the fox". Now what did the fox say? (i.e., This is what the fox said:) "To-day, what is the matter with the hole? On other days, it answers, 'What'?" [Why this difference to-day from other days?]. Then once more the fox exclaimed; "O Hole! O Hole!" From inside [the hole] the crocodile said, "What?" Then the fox

came to know that the crocodile was there; and so the fox said, "Wait Hole! I have brought crabs. So I am going to bring fire to roast them". "Ah! To-day I have deceived the fox," said the crocodile [to itself]. The fox went running to the village and fetched fire. Having gathered weeds and rushes from there, [the fox] thrust them into the hole [and set fire to them] and blew the smoke in. The crocodile cried very much. The fox in its turn [said]: "Have you entrapped [me] or not, O Crocodile? Have you caught me or not, Crocodile?" Saying this, it gave a hearty laugh. The crocodile with loud wailings (*lit.*, loudly wailing—wailing) died. What animal is there as cunning as the fox?

V. Folklore regarding Dreams, Omens and Superstitions .

I. Dreams (*Mūnū*).

Khārīās of all sections entertain many superstitions which they share in common with the backward sections of their Hindu neighbours. In fact, many of their superstitions are so familiar to us Hindus that we are apt to imagine they are all borrowed. But, in some instances, the Hindus may not improbably have imbibed some of their superstitious beliefs from their aboriginal neighbours, just as in other cases the aborigines may have been influenced by the beliefs and practices of their Hindu neighbours; and in some cases, again, similar superstitions may have independently developed through the common psychological laws of similarity, contrariety, and contact or association, and have remained as living beliefs among the more backward communities,

but only persisted as survivals or more or less decadent vestiges among the more progressive peoples, particularly their comparatively unprogressive sections. Thus, the Khāriā's belief that if a man dream of a tiger or a dog attacking him, he may expect the arrival of some relative at his place; or the belief that to dream of eating mangoes and figs portends success in hunting; or the belief that to dream of cattle grazing in your house, or some one stealing your paddy portends illness in the family; or the belief that to dream of receiving a present of paddy or cloth portends good luck in store for the dreamer,—these and similar other beliefs cannot with any confidence be attributed to borrowing from the Hindus or any other people. Dreams of the nature indicated above are natural to the Khāriās inasmuch as they relate to matters appertaining to their everyday life.

Besides ordinary dreams which are obviously either distinct or confused reproductions of actual events in the individual dreamer's day-to-day life, and other dreams regarded as fore-tokens of future happenings, there is an important class of dreams which are open or veiled or symbolic representations of actual or attempted fulfilment of some subconscious and repressed desires or feelings. As in primitive societies such as that of the Khāriās, the individual, as we have seen, is much more completely integrated with his social group and culture than in more sophisticated societies, the study of such dreams is calculated to shed important light on the cultural ideology of Khāriā Society.

As religion forms the core as well as the cement of Khāriā culture, many such "culture pattern" dreams

are found to reflect the Khārīā's ideas of his deities and spirits and of the spirit-world. Thus, in the Khārīā's religious ideology, the *Dārḥā* or *Dorḥā* spirit is visualised as an elephant or as a buffalo (the latter being its coveted sacrifice); and so, if a Khārīā dreams of an elephant or a buffalo, it is apprehended that the *Dārḥā* *ḥūbō* will inflict some harm to the village. Similarly in the Khārīā's religious symbology the horse is the symbol of the *Khūñṭ* spirits; and so when a Khārīā dreams of a horse, he apprehends some harm to the village from the *Khūñṭ* spirits. Occasionally, a Khārīā, generally in distress, dreams of some spirit asking him for some sacrifice. The sacrifice is dutifully offered, and it is generally reported that thereafter the trouble of the dreamer or his family is soon relieved. Another type of "culture pattern dreams" is the dream, often induced by vigils (attended sometimes with fasting), in which a Khārīā of a religious turn of mind and a psychic temperament, sees the deity *Mahādeo* revealing Himself as issuing out of the earth in the form of a stone and, in the morning and sometimes on awakening from the dream, the dreamer, it is said, discovers, in or about his own house or compound, a stone which is believed to represent the deity *Mahādeo*, and installs it in his house and reverentially pays his devotions to it regularly every day, and observes strict ceremonial purity.¹¹⁰ A Khārīā, it is said, sometimes discovers buried treasure through revealing dreams. Remedies for diseases are also said to be revealed on rather rare occasions to sufferers. This type of dreams also occurs among other tribes on the same level of culture in Chōṭā-Nāgpur. In fact,

110. See S. C. Roy *Ōrāon Religion and Customs*, p 304.

at the present day, as in matters of arts and crafts, dress and ornaments, implements and weapons, so too, in certain classes of beliefs and superstitions, there may be said to have evolved a common culture of a particular area, at least among the backward classes. This is indeed what we find, more or less, in the Central Belt of India where the Khāriās and several other tribes on the same level of culture form an important, if not in all cases the dominant, factor in the population.

Below are noted the Khāriā's beliefs regarding only a few 'prophetic' dreams which are supposed to foreshadow impending events :—

(1) If a man dreams of himself killing a snake, a guest will visit his house on the following day.

(2) If a man dreams of a tiger, then either a Court-bailiff or a Police constable will visit his house. [Constables and Court bailiffs are dreaded as much as, if not more than, tigers by the Khāriā.]

(3) If a man dreams that he is getting drowned, he will meet with persons drinking rice-beer or actually drunk.

(4) If one dreams of himself as fishing he will meet with a corpse in his village or among his relatives.

(5) If one dreams of himself as flying in the air, he concludes he must have eaten from a leaf-cup or leaf-plate of which one or more leaves had been soiled with the excrement of a bird; and, conversely, if a man eats from such a soiled leaf-cup or leaf-plate then the person expects to have a dream of himself as flying in mid-air.

(6) If a man dreams that he is easing himself, something will be stolen from his house.

(7) If a man dreams of himself as digging earth,

sowing paddy, raising an embankment or building a house, then some calamity will befall him.

(8) If a man dreams that his house is burning, or smoke rising, some misfortune will occur to his family.

(9) If a man dreams of himself as crossing a stream, particularly a stream in flood, he will have success in any undertaking or work in which he may be engaged on the following day.

(10) If a man dreams of marriage or of himself eating fishes, he will receive news of death of some relative, or there will be a death in the family.

(11) If a man dreams of another person's death, that other's longevity will increase.

(12) If a man dreams of himself as rubbing oil on his body, blood will come out of some part of his body.

(13) If a man dreams of himself as having acquired money, some skin-disease will affect either himself or some other member of his family.

(14) If a man dreams of honey he will see human excrement.

(15) If a man dreams of paddy being carried away from his house by a thief, it portends that some witch or sorcerer will afflict him with illness.

(16) If a man dreams that he is eating a ripe fruit, he will have meat or fish for his meal.

(17) If a man dreams that he is riding a horse, he apprehends misfortune.

Omens and other Superstitions .

i. General Omens and Superstitions relating to Movements of the Limbs.

The following are among the Khārīā's superstitious

beliefs connected with the movements of a person's limbs:—

(1) It is a bad omen if in the morning one eye is shown to you by any one. It is believed to forebode that some one will not look at you with "full" (i. e. favourable) eyes and there will be a quarrel, or that you will be slighted by some friend or relative whom you may visit.

(2) If a person's foot itches, it is believed that some one is abusing or talking ill of him or her.

(3) If the palm of one's hand itches, it portends that he or she will get money or make some profit.

(4) If a freckle appears on the left arm, left leg, or on the left side of the body, it bodes some illness to the person.

(5) If the right eye quivers it is a good omen, but if the left eye quivers it is a bad omen.

(6) If on rising from bed in the morning one sees the face of a miser or of a money-lender, it bodes ill luck to the person.

(7) If anyone is born with six fingers in one hand, he is expected to be fortunate in life, because God has given him something more than to others.

ii. Bad Omens on a journey.

Among bad omens on a journey according to Khāriā belief, the following specimens may be cited:—

(1) Seeing an empty pitcher, ashes, a fox, a *ḡhāmnā* snake, woman or women going to wash clothes with ashes and water, the sudden falling down of a branch of

a tree,—all these portend frustration, entire or partial, of the object of the journey.

[A Khārīā, to neutralise the ill effects of such omens will cut down the fallen branch into two or three pieces or will kill the serpent seen during the journey, as the case may be. On the day that any member of a family starts on a journey, women of the family take care not to boil or wash clothes with ashes and water.]

(2) If when starting on a journey some one calls out from behind or sneezes, it is regarded as a bad omen. [To neutralise its ill effects, the man must stop for a while.]

(3) If when starting on a journey, a person sees some one sweeping the floor or the ground with a broom, he must stop for a while, for otherwise the object of his journey will be frustrated just as a broom sweeps away things before it.

(4) A Khārīā does not start on a journey on a Monday, as it is considered a '*soom*' or empty or profitless day.

(5) If a Khārīā eats meat on the day he starts for a hunt, no game will be bagged; for, it is said, that as meat has been already taken, he has had his share and there can be no further meat (game) forthcoming.

iii. Superstitions relating to Sleeping or Eating.

(1) It is harmful for a person to sleep with his or her head to the north. It is believed to hasten the sleeper's death, because it is on death that the corpse is taken out and buried with its head to the north.

(2) To see, as the first thing on rising from bed in the morning, a person who keeps silent, or the face of a naked adult person, bodes ill.

(3) To see, as the first thing on rising from bed in the morning, the face of a person who speaks as soon as he sees you, is auspicious.

(4) If a person chokes whilst eating, it indicates that some one is speaking ill of him.

vi. Omens relating to Animals or Birds.

(1) If a cattle sneezes, an epidemic to man or cattle is apprehended.

(2) The cries of a cat weeping portend some misfortune to the family.

(3) The weeping of a dog portends the breaking out of an epidemic in the village.

(4) If after sun-set and before midnight a cock or hen crows inside a room it is considered a very bad omen. [To neutralise its harmful effects the fowl will be at once killed and its meat distributed among five or seven families. Such a fowl is called *Bhūtāhā* (spirit-possessed.)]

VI. Riddles. (*Būj-būjhāwāl*).

Besides recounting or listening to such folktales as given above, Khāriā young men amuse themselves by propounding and solving riddles, of which some specimens are given below:—

1. *Riddle*:—*Ākhāñṛ kinir tē bāonā bāchhā khuṭāeā khuṭāe.*

(In deep forest a dwarfish calf is tethered to a peg).

Answer:—*Kusār* (*H. Koā*), or the silkcocoon (which remains stuck in tree-branches in the jungles).

2. *Chōnā pālō ḍenā ūmbō* (Has been able to go but not to return).

Answer:—*Kōm*, or an arrow.

3. *Muenj thōk saethō ḍ ḡḡā* (In one bundle hundred rope-strings), or *Muenj sai jepung* (In one rope one hundred straws), or *Muenj pōrōb saiṭho larang* (In one tuber hundred roots).

Answer:—Peiṭ or *Bāzār* (to which many roads lead).

4. *Baṅsī ḍāṅg tūjāl demtā poṭom fāu* (Like a *baṅsī*-pole it holds up [its tail], and like a cluster of ants, [something] falls down with a thud).

Answer:—O'rej', or the cow, (which holds up its tail when excreting, and whose excrement falls down with a thud).

5. *Bāhertē pōṭā, bhit'ar komhēng*. (It has its entrails outside, and its flesh inside).

Answer:—Tinjā (or a straw bundle containing paddy)

6. *Chonāmtā chonām, ingte jib tuyēm*. (If you want to go, do go, but you must touch me when going).

Answer:—Kāṭṭō, or Door, (which one must touch in order to close it before going).

7. *Akhanṛ kinirtē ḍūbhni ubṛāi āij* (In a deep forest, a small cup is up-turned).

Answer:—Ūḍ, or mushrooms (which look like up-turned cups).

8. *Muing dārute kōtkā' kōtkā'* (In one tree are many sticks).

Answer:—Bāndarlōwri, or the Indian labernum (which has long cylindrical pods resembling short sticks).

9. *Gibtākōn gībtātē ragaṛ ragaṛ tertē kundābtē chōltā*. (Someone going away after laying it flat and pressing and rolling and up-turning it).

Answer:—Chakri, or the Pounding-stone (which is rolled over the curry-stone to pound spices)

10. *Moing dārutē kṇāsiyā-kṇāsi* (Many combs on a tree).

Ans:—Kōrōnjō, or the *Karanj* tree (*Pongamia glabra* tree of which the fruits resemble combs).

11. *Moing dārutē: māndriyā māndri* (A tree full of Mānda-drums)

Ans:—Kānṭhrā, or the Jack-fruit tree.

12. *Oselḍāgā ḍōbhā hāirē banklui āmū' kālḡā*. (O Stork! By the side of the white pool of water how white are thy feathers !)

Ans:—Golāng, or Rice-beer (which is white, and kept in a wooden vessel while being distributed to people sitting around).

13. *Rānrān ghaṇṭo sonāk'peṭi rugelā jongsur kolong* (In a golden box are bells sounding; when opened, you get sweet bread).

Ans:—Yoñle chhātā, or Honey-comb (which tastes like sweet-bread, and within which the buzzing of bees sounds like bells).

14. *Tūblūngtē oseljāng bhitarē rūsūng komeng*. (Outside white bones, inside red flesh).

Ans:—Aṇḍā, or Egg.

15. *Enem moḍā koṇḍeng*. (Bamboo without knots)

Ans:—Ului, or Hair (which grows like bamboos).

16. *Pātātē jibnā budā gurgurāetā*. (When the tail is touched the beast snarls).

Ans:—Charkhā (a spinning-wheel).

17. *Kirō bōkōb khorī bulitā* (The tiger's head moves from house to house).

Ans:—Pāṭhā Pailā. (A grain-measure).

18. *Beṛōlerāṅgā koletā kōktābūṅg chhoṛāētē.* (The Sun and Moon, while quarelling, are being separated with a small stick).

Ans:—Tālā-kūṅji (Lock and key.)

19. *Yotē nogā lāmtē, choltāno kobsutē, ḍeltānō lāḍātē.* (Whenever anyone sees it, she desires it; whenever it goes she feels pain; whenever it reaches she laughs).

Ans:—Lāhāṭi, or Lac bracelets (which give pain while worn on the arms).

20. *Ākhāñj kinirtē moeñj kāṇḍāebo koṇsrō ibtē.* (In a dense forest an old woman is spreading out half-boiled rice mixed with *kōsrō-jāṅg* root, for making liquor).

Ans:—Chuhā, or mouse (which piles up earth that it has dug up and that looks like such rice).

21. *Dhenko gānāj kinir sejtē.* (A crooked sickle cuts the jungle).

Ans:—Shaving-razor.

22. *Moeñj goṭā bōṅg O' bharētā.* (The house is filled with one [sheaf of paddy]).

Ans:—Tārdi or Lamp-light,

23. *Ājñyā tin khaṇḍi barātiā* (In my elder brother's wife's marriage many *barātiās* or bridal guests are coming.)

Ans:—Muejḍā, or Row of ants (said in jest).

24. *Ij kānte ñyeō kānte.* (It eats and defecates at the same time).

Ans:—Chākri-rāhṭā (Flour-grinding mill).

25. *Lip lipi koṇṭhed duniā yotē.* (Flying bird sees the world).

Ans:—Ulā or *Chitṭhi* (A letter, which may go anywhere in the world).

26. *Bāriā sōrkōm moingā*. (Both on the same wooden seat).

Ans:—Dereng. (The two horns of an animal which are on the same head).

27. *Ohōnā bherē lekō, denā bherē didigā deltā* (While going it stoops, while coming it is erect).

Ans:—Kuyū, or Water jar (which, while being carried to fetch water, is held in a slanting position in the arm-pit, but, while being brought home, filled with water, it is carried on the head in an erect position).

28. *Moeñj dārutē ḍhelāyā ḍhelā* (Many lumps of mud on a tree).

Ans:—Kuṭāb, or the *Bael* fruit (whose pulp is soft as mud).

29. *Bārō hārāyā thhām ulā* (Twelve branches have only seven leaves).

Ans:—Memon, or Year (which has 12 months in which 7 days of the week are continually repeated).

30. *Toblūngte rā'ṭā tutā-tē luku tā* (Flowers on the top, and fruit at the bottom).

Ans:—Porob, or tubers.

31. *Doko sinām rē petra ing jhāṇḍitōlnā debtāing* (Sit below, O Pot-belly! I am going to hoist the flag).

Ans:—Āru, or Yam creeper (which leaves the Yam underground but itself gets up a tree).

32. *Sai larangā moiṅgā jhōpā* (Hundred creepers have joined in one knot).

Ans:—Peiṭ, or Market (to which hundred roads lead).

33. *Kosor Kūndri ikud sebol* (Dry kūndri fruit very sweet).

Ans:—Kerā or Plantain.

34. *Mōeñj dārute moingā ulā* (In one tree only one leaf).

Ans:—Jhāṇḍā, or flag.

35. *Enem larāngā dhijāng pōrōb* (Without creeper, round tuber).

Ans:—Puḍub or *Putu*, a kind of jungle vegetable which grows underground without any creeper or plant above ground.

36. *Tirib ghirketā tuḍum kāḍōng bhoretā* (Small fishes crowd together at the sound of clouds).

Ans:—Dhenjāg, or *Nāgerā* Drum (at whose music children flock together to listen).

37. *Kosor dhuṭūtē kolē' ebotā* (The parrot plays on the dry tree stump).

Ans:—Konḍej Derej (an axe).

38. *Rāṇi beṭiyā ḍaṇṇrā eḍnā pālem?* (Will you be able to measure the stick of the princess?).

Ans:—Guḍjḥūng, or Road. (Roads are often too long to be easily measured.)

39. *Rāṇi beṭiyā peṭi yūnā pālem?* (Will you be able to open the box of the princess?)

Ans:—Ortonō lūkū (the box-like fruit of the Āsan tree which is very hard to split.)

40. *Moeñj lebuā jāng ūmbo.* (A man without bone.)

Ans:—Yēlwā, or *jō'ñk* (Leech.)

41. *Moeñj kaṇḍāebō moeñj' kūṇḍūm ānārgi ṇyōtē.* (An old woman uses up [*lit.*, 'eats'] a bundle of *dātūn* or tooth-sticks.)

Ans:—Chulhā, or oven (which consumes bundles of fire-wood.)

42. *Pokhrā mojkī-tē lerāṅ jārjārāytā*. (The moon simmers in the middle of the tank.)

Ans:—Kolong o!o tai. (Bread and pan.)

43. *Kā'ṭha-u', lohā' ṭhōr, mugām mugām banklui, hokṛā lōḷhō sūrūm*. (Wooden horse with iron beak; in front go the storks, and after them goes the thief.)

Ans:—Sini, luāṅ orej' o!o lebu. (Plough and ploughshare, preceded by oxen and followed by man [the plough-man]).

44. *Hāthiya lāj bhitartē maenā cherberāe tāki*. (In the stomach of the elephant the *maenā* [bird] chirps.)

Ans:—O' o!o lebu. (The house and its human inmates).

45. *Moeñj kōkrō moeñjgā kāṭā būṅ tomontā*. (A cock stands on one leg only.)

Ans: Ud' or Kluñkhri (mushroom).

46. *Mudu kūṇḍū' me'yātā no kokoyo kokoyo gāmtē*. (As soon as it is dawn, a child says "Meat, Mother; meat, Mother!" i. e., "O mother! O mother! Give me meat).

Ans:—Tomsing (The chains attached to the yoke, which when being carried to the fields in the morning make a jingling sound, as if asking for food).

47. *Muḍu beṭi kōnōn bhere lūtūi sūtē mahā-tā uō kāj gōḍtē*. (A girl, while young, puts on clothes, but when grown up she casts them off.)

Ans:—Kōlēd and Koṇḍeng; the bamboo (Young shoot of the bamboo and mature bamboo).

48. *Tūblūngtē thōkā tūtā tē āṇḍā.* (The nest below, and the egg above.)

Ans:—Mūrūn, or Mahnā (Hindi.)

49. *Tūtātē kūyū toblūngtē timsōng.* The jar below, the fire above.)

Ans:—Huklā ṁḷō chilam (The hubble-bubble with the tobacco-bowl at the top.)

50. *Āṇḍōmā enem jānmegā beḷḷōm ākḷḷā ṁbōnā chōltā.* (Before the birth of the father his son goes to the dancing-ground to dance.)

Ans:—Timsōng oḷo mō' (Fire and smoke.)

A number of similar riddles borrowed from neighbouring Hindu castes are also in vogue among Khārī children. A few samples of such riddles are given below:—

1. *Kariā chūkā, dhāin lūkā*—(i. e. A black jug which conceals paddy.)

Answer:—Kandraj or bhañṭā (the brinjal fruit which contains paddy-like seeds.)

2. *Nān sutā tān bhān* (It weaves nets of fine thread.)

Answer:—Bendi (spider.)

3. *Charkā ḍāñṇī kārīā kūrthi.* (With my hands I sow black kūrthi on white field.)

Answer:—Writing (with black ink on white paper.)

4. *Bohōiā-ker gōṛ uaiikhē; Dekhuākē muṛ nāikhē; Mur-dāker charṭō gōṛ āhē.* (The carrier has no legs; the spectator has no head; the deceased has four legs.)

Answer:—Kenḍōḍ, or the frog (which has four legs, is being carried by the *bungām* [or snake which has no legs] and is seen by the *Khāñṅṛā* [or crab which has no head.])

5. *Rān rān ghāṭi sonākē peṭi; Ughrāe ughrāe dekh goḥmak rōṭi.* (Yellow bees buzz like the ringing of gongs, and the wax in the combs are like bread.)

Answer:—Terōm (Honey bee.)

(vii). Proverbs.

As results of experience and observation, the Khāriās, like peoples of higher culture, have built up a moderate stock of apothegms and sayings meant to give forceful expression to some practical truth. Some Khāriā proverbs, again, pithily express the Khāriā's estimate of some prominent trait in the character of some neighbouring caste or tribe. Below we cite a few instances of Khāriā proverbs :—

1. *Solo' tē gāmnā pātātē etōngtē.*—*Lit.*, When a dog is asked to do anything, it wants its tail to do so. [This is said in reference to an idle person who, when asked to do anything, bids some one else to do it for him.]

2. *Kūi'-nā ūm-sōjtē lā maṛoā dōṣ.*—*Lit.*, Dancing he does not know, so the dancing-ground (must be) at fault. [That is to say, one who is bad at dancing imputes his or her bad performance to some defect in the dancing-ground. (This is the same as the English proverb, "A bad carpenter quarrels with his tools". There is a Bengali proverb exactly corresponding to this Khāriā saying.)]

3. *Tutatē luā-lā toblūng debtā.*—*Lit.*, Below are the figs but he climbs up the tree. (This is said of a person who looks for a thing where it is difficult to get, but neglects the same thing lying near at hand.)

4. *Disgā biru sundar yotā.*—*Lit.*, A distant hill looks beautiful. [This means to say,—when seen from a distance, even an ugly thing looks beautiful: "Distance lends enchantment to the view." (This is usually said with

reference to relations by marriage who may be living at a distance, and are generally well spoken of.)]

5. *Kolong musāṅ tij t̄ae ūm isintā*.—*Lit.*, Bread is not properly baked if only one face of it is exposed to heat. (This proverb is used in connection with joint-work by two persons in which one partner neglects his share of the work, so that it cannot be properly done or completed.)

6. *Saharal beṭi Ḍom O' chōltā*.—*Lit.*, The [once] so highly lauded girl goes to the house [of a low-caste] Ḍōm. [The purport is that it is not wise to praise anyone prematurely. A woman who, as a girl, was extolled as very good may enter the house of an untouchable Ḍōm and belie her early promise of goodness. Persons of the basket-weaving caste of Ḍōms, it may be noted, are despised by the Khārīās (as by the Hindus) and are supposed to cause pollution by their touch.]

Caste Proverbs.

7. *Chikō Lohrā māiēṅā meyā*.—*Lit.*, The *Chik* (weaver-caste) and *Lohrā* (black-smith) “day-after-to-morrow morning”. [This means to say, that men of these two castes (Weaver and Black-smith) repeatedly put off the promised date for executing an order].

8. *Rājmaṛ Khāñkhrā Kuchā*.—*Lit.*, *Rajmāṛs* (the *Rāutiā* caste) are crab-hashers. (The meaning is that men of the *Rāutiā* caste are very vindictive, and persecute their enemies as crabs are hashed.)

(IX). Folk-Medicine.

Although the Khārīā, like other tribes of the lower culture, attributes most of the ills of life to spirit-

agency and often seek the aid of magical practices and religious rites or sacrifices to get rid of such ills, he does not disregard the accumulated results of the experience and observation of numerous generations of his tribe regarding the curative properties of fruits and flowers, barks and leaves and roots of trees and plants, and other natural products. Below is given a list of some of the products of his native hills and jungles used by the Khāriā for medicinal purposes, and the Khāriā's method of preparing and applying them. The root, bark, fruit, seeds, leaves and flowers of the following varieties of grasses, creepers, shrubs, plants and trees are among those used by the Khāriā for medicinal purposes, as indicated below:—

1. *Bunui-kūdā* or *Suār-mārā* (*Eleusine Indica*).—Extract of the root of this grass is administered to cure fever. This grass is also pounded with water and baked into a kind of bread, and eaten.

2. *Birni* grass (*Andropogon Muricatus*).—Roots of this grass are pounded with water and applied externally on a snake-bite wound.

3. *Mōthā* grass (*Cyperus rotundus*).—Roots of this grass are pounded with garlic and applied externally to cure fever.

4. *Hārjōrā* (*Vitis quadrangularis*).—The stem and leaves of this creeper are pounded with water and given internally to a woman after child-birth, to remove pain.

5. *Dhāmānpochki* creeper.—The root and stem of this creeper are pounded with water and applied externally to cure Rheumatism.

6. *Kinir-koṛāi* or *Bankūrthi* (*Legumin solksph?*).—

The leaves and stems of this creeper are cut up and steeped in water and administered to cure cough and asthma.

7. *Meheñdi* (*Lawsonia alba*).—The leaves of this shrub are pounded with castor-seeds, for external application to sore toes.

8. *Dhaturā* (*Phyllanthus emblica*).—The roots of this shrub are pounded with water, and applied like poultice to swollen fingers. Its fruit is sliced into rings and worn on the fingers of a woman in whose breast too much milk has accumulated, thus causing pain.

9. *Sendri* or *Sinduār* (*Vitex Negundo*).—The stem of this shrub is pounded and applied externally with splinters as a cure for broken bones.

10. *Chirchithi* or *Chirchittā* (*Acyranthes Aspera*).—The roots of this shrub are pounded and boiled in water, and the extract is administered to a woman after child-birth when her spittle curdles like milk.

11. *Tiriokondeng* (*Acyranthes, sp. ?*).—The roots of this dwarf and thin bamboo shrub are pounded, and the juice is taken to cure griping of the stomach which is believed to be caused either by the evil-eye or by spirits. The roots are also boiled and the extract administered to a woman after child-birth when her spittle coagulates.

12. *Bariāri* (*Hibiscus, sp. ?*).—The root and stem of this creeper (which bears yellow flowers) are tied on the hair at the back of the head of a parturient woman to hasten delivery. The fruit and leaves of this creeper are used as poultice to cure boils.

13. *Dhāwāi* (*Woodfordia floribunda*).—The flowers

of this shrub are dried and powdered and mixed with water and sugar, and taken as a cooling drink.

14. *Bhūnḍōṅg*, or *Gethiā* (*Artocarpus Lakoocha*).—The root of this creeper is pounded and boiled with water and applied externally in the form of poultice over the joints to cure pains in the joints. The tuber of this creeper is also boiled and then steeped for a whole night in running water (such as in a water-channel coming down a slope) so as to wash away its acidity. It is then boiled again, and eaten.

15. *Akoāṇḍ* (*Colotropis gigantea*).—The root and leaves of this plant are pounded and warmed, and applied externally to cure muscular pains, particularly in the sides. The juice is also applied to fly-borne sores. Another use for this juice is to use it for poisoning the water of a pool or dammed-up stream so as to induce torpor or death to the fish in it in order to catch them.

16. *Rangāini* (*Solanum Xanthocarpum*).—The root of this plant is boiled with water and taken to cure stomach-ache. The fruit is boiled and eaten in fever.

17. *Kārijhuri* (*Compositae*).—The fruit and leaves of this plant are pounded with water and applied externally to cure swelling of the glands.

18. *Rohen* (*Estonia scholaris*).—The bark of this tree is pounded with water and administered internally to a woman after child-birth.

19. *Āmberā* (*Spondia mangifera*).—The bark of this tree is pounded, mixed with lime, and taken internally as a cure for Diarræah.

20. *Kāyār* or mango (*Mangifera Indica*).—Its guru

is mixed with lime and taken internally to cure Diarræah.

21. *Semṛi* or *Sembar* (*Bombax malabaricum*).—It is pounded with water and sugar and the mixture is administered to cure retention of urine.

22. *Oṛol* or *Koinār* (*Bauhinia purpurea variegata*).—The bark and roots of this tree are pounded and applied externally to cure Rheumatism.

23. *Sergā* or *Sāl* (*Shorea robusta*).—Fruit (*luku*) of the tree is boiled and then pounded with *murun* (*Bassia latifolia*) and taken internally as a cure for Diarræah.

24. *Gulāiñchi* (*Phuneria actifolia*) The bark of this tree is pounded with water and applied externally for open sores (such as wounds caused by the horns of animals), and is also taken internally as a purgative.

25. *Kūdā* or *Jamun* (*Eugenia Jambolana*).—The juice of the bark (*kālō*) of this tree is expressed and administered internally as a cure for Dysentery.

26. *Erṇḍi* or the Castor-plant (*Ricinus communis*).—The root of this plant is pounded with water and applied externally to the skin underneath the heel when the skin gets hardened and white. Oil extracted from *erṇḍi* seeds is taken internally as a purgative or as a cure for constipation.

(x). Games and Pastimes.

The Khārīās have a large variety of games and pastimes. Most of them are played by young boys and girls together, a few by girls alone, and a few by boys alone. Khārīā youths of both sexes are so fond of dancing in their leisure hours, that games are almost all left to the

children. Older boys play a few athletic games such as *Phōdā* which is a kind of Hockey and *Khāti* which is a kind of Cricket.

We give below short accounts of a few principal Khāriā games :—

1. **Phōdā** :—This game is played with a cloth ball. The players divide themselves into two parties. Two boundary lines are fixed, one behind each party of the players. A player on one side picks up a ball ; and a player from the other side confronts him. The former throws his ball into the air, and both players seek to strike the ball each with his *phōdā*-stick. Both sides go on striking it forward towards either of the two boundaries. And the party that succeeds in driving the ball to either of the two boundary-lines wins the game.

2. **Bhejā** :—Boys go with their bows and arrows to an open field. Arrived there, all plant their arrows together on the ground. The one whose arrow is the shortest will select the target. Then, all the boys, one after another, aim their arrows at the target. If one fails to hit the target, then the boy whose arrow is the next above the former boy's in height will select a target. If any of the players can hit it, the boy who selected the target will have to select another target. And so it goes on till someone has failed to hit it. Then the boy whose arrow is next higher in length will select a target, and so on it goes till everyone has had a chance of selecting his target. Finally the boy whose target was hit by the largest number of his companions selects a tall tree and tries to shoot his arrow over the head of the tree and beyond it. One after another all try to do the same.



29. Dūdh Khārīā boys playing at *Chāl-guṭi*.



30. Dūdh Khārīās playing at *Kāṇṭrā-Kāṇṭrā*.
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The boy whose arrow goes furthest will be entitled to take any of the arrows of the other boys, that he may choose.

3. **Kāñṭhṛā-Kañṭhṛa** :—A number of little boys join in playing this game. One represents a jack-fruit tree and remains standing. Others represent its fruits and remain seated, holding the leg of the boy, who represents the tree. Another boy a little older and stronger than the rest represents a thief and still another represents the owner of the tree. The thief comes stealthily and feels each fruit to see if it is ripe and takes up one of the boys representing a jack-fruit and moves away with him. The owner gives chase, when the others get up and also join the chase as *sipāhis* or constables. When the thief is caught, he is seized by his hands and legs by the others and is swung forwards and backwards by way of punishment. (see *Illustration*).

4. **Tuyu-merom** :—A number of boys or girls hold each other by their extended hands and form a circle representing a goat-pen. A boy who represents a goat stands inside the circle. Another boy who represents a jackal remains outside, and tries to enter the pen. The boys forming the pen resist. Now and again the jackal succeeds in entering the pen, and as soon as it does so, the goat gets out. The jackal howls and makes repeated efforts to get out and at length succeeds, and the goat at once re-enters the pen. This is repeated several times. Finally the jackal succeeds in seizing the goat. Then the circle breaks up and all give chase to the jackal. During the game, all the players except the 'jackal' and the 'goat' sing the following line in local Hindi :—“*Ohhegrī pārāē pārāē rē. Bājh-bājhorim!*” [Translation:] “The goat

flies ! it flies ! O [Seize it] trappers !" (*vide* Illustration).

5. **Kowā Dhopong**:—This game is played with five small pebbles called 'gūṭi'. Three to six boys generally sit in a circle and play the game. The five *gūṭis* are placed together on the ground in front the boy who starts the game. He takes up one *gūṭi* at a time, throws it up and, while it goes up, he has to pick up another *gūṭi* before the former comes down and, with the second *gūṭi* in his hand, he has to catch hold of the first *gūṭi* before it drops down on the ground. He has to do the same with all the five *gūṭis*, one after the other, so that he will finally have all the five in his hands. If he fails any time, he has to give up the *gūṭis* to the boy next to him, who, in his turn will try his hand in the same way as the other did. When all the players have tried their hands, they repeat it in the same order, six times more. Then again every boy tries in the same order to take up two *gūṭis* at a time from the ground while throwing up a *gūṭi*. When this has been tried seven times, they will again proceed in the same order to take up three *gūṭis* at a time from the ground, and then four *gūṭis*, and act likewise. Each time that this is tried with four *gūṭis* at a time, two other *gūṭis* are placed one cubit apart, in the manner described above, and a boy tries to pick up the two *gūṭis* after throwing up one *gūṭi* and catching the other *gūṭi* that was thrown up. The boy who succeeds in the attempt is declared the winner.

6. **Khāti**.—Boys play this game in two parties. In front of each boy a flat piece of wood called *Khāti* is planted. Each boy has, in his hands, a stick with which he strikes the *Khāti* in front of him so as to propel it against one of the *Khātis* of his opponents and uproot it. If his *Khāti* hits the *Khāti* of the opposite party,



31. Dūdh Khāriās playing at Tuyu-merōm.



32. Dūdh Khāriā boys playing at *Khāti*.

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33. Dūdh Khārīā girls playing at *Chīl hōr-hōr*.



34. Dūdh Khārīā girls playing at Samher.

(To face p. 465)

his own *Khāti* is returned to him. He again strikes his *Khāti* and tries to hit and uproot with it one of the remaining *Khātis* of the other side. In this way the party that succeeds in uprooting all the *Khātis* of their opponents wins the game. (*Vide* Illustration).

7. **Chil-hōṛ-hor.**— This game is played either by small boys or by girls or by both together. The players stand one behind the other in a descending order in respect of their height, each placing his or her hands on the shoulders of the one in front. The one in front of the rest represents the mother-hen and those behind her are her chickens. The mother hen protects her chickens by stretching out her two hands representing wings. Another girl representing a vulture stands facing the mother-hen and with her stretched hands representing claws seeks to seize the smallest chicken that stands at the end of the line. The vulture attempts to reach it by going round the line but the mother with the chickens behind her always confronts it in order to foil its attempt. When at length the vulture succeeds in seizing the youngest chicken, it attempts to seize the next older, and so on the game proceeds till all the chickens are seized. (See Illustration.)

8. **Lerkā or Sāmber or Sāmher.**— This game is played by boys and girls, or sometimes by girls alone. The players stand in a line with their hands extended, each holding a hand of the player next to him or her on either side. The player at one end turns round and passes under the clasped hands of the next two players still holding the hand of the player next to him or her. Then these two players similarly pass out under the clasped hands of the third and fourth players. And so the

game proceeds till all the players holding each other by their hands pass through the clasped hands of the last two players at the other end. All the time the players go on singing a doggerel couplet in local Hindi meant for the game. The players again return to their original position and call out "Sambher" (get ready) and half of the players at one end pull the other half and the latter pull at the former, as in a tug of war. When one side succeeds in pulling the other side in their direction, they win. (See Illustration).

The local Hindi (*Gāoñwāri*) doggerel which conveys little sense probably indicates that the game has been borrowed by the Khāriā from his Hindu neighbours. It is as follows :—"*Ek mūṭhā Khairkā, sōnē lāgē lairkā.*" This may be thus translated "A handful of reed ; The boy goes to sleep."

9. **Dheko-Kōkō.**—Little boys play this game. One of them represents the carcase of a bullock (*orej*). The others represent vultures (*Kānhār*) and sit down at a distance. Another represents a cowherd of the Āhīr case (*Mahārā*), and sits down still further off. The vultures all shouting, "Dhekō-kōkō! Dhekō-kōkō!" in chorus, approach in a sitting posture with their legs forward and their hands on the ground towards their back to represent the hind legs, and all try to eat (seize) the carcase with their thigh-joints as their lips, and all try to pull at it in different directions. When the carcase is being thus pulled about, it shouts out to the Āhīr to come to its rescue. The Āhīr cries, "Wait, I am drinking rice-gruel". The carcase continues to be pulled this way and that, and calls the Āhīr again. And he replies, "Wait, I am putting on my wooden sandals". Again, the carcase is pulled



35. Dūdh Khārīā boys playing at *Dheko-koko* (only a part of the game is represented).



36. Dūdh Khārīā (Catholic) boys (Pius Dungdung & Benjamin Kiro) at School.

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at and again it cries, till at length the Āhīr comes in the same sitting posture and using both hands and legs as the others. The Āhīr tries to touch each vulture with his feet and as soon as one is touched the latter is regarded as "dead". Similarly he will touch each one. If any one in the meanwhile gets up before being touched, the game is ended and he has to play the part of the carcase in a second game which will then begin. If all are touched, any one may be chosen to play the part of the carcase in it. (See Illustration.)

10. **Led'-led'.**— Boys and girls may play this game together; but often the boys play by themselves, and so do the girls. Two parties are formed. One party close their eyes, and stand close to a post. The players of the other party hide themselves. Then the former all cry in chorus, "*Kokrē-shō*"! in the manner of the crowing cocks, to signify that it is morning now and is time for them to wake up. And so they open their eyes and all except one run about in search of the members of the other party. Only one of them remains standing near the post so that no member of the opposite party may come and touch it. If the members of the searching party can find out all the members of the hiding party and touch their ears, before they can touch the post, they win. If they cannot touch the ears of all, then the members of the hiding party will all come to the post and try to touch it, and there will be a tussle, one party trying to touch the post and the other to touch the ears of each member of the opposite party. Whichever party succeeds first in attaining its object will win. The party that loses the game will have to close their eyes again, and the game will be repeated.

11. *Lokāgūṭi*.—This game is played with a number of small pebbles, generally from eight to twelve in number. Four to six or more boys sit in a circle to play the game. One of them takes all the pebbles called '*gūṭis*', and throws them up and forthwith holds up the palm of his right hand with its back upwards so that the *gūṭis* may be caught on the back of the palm.

Then he again throws up as many of the *gūṭis* as he could catch on the back of his palm, and forthwith stretches the same palm with the inner side upwards and tries to catch all the *gūṭis* thrown up. Should he fail to catch on his palm all the *gūṭis* while falling down, his turn expires, and the boy next to him on the right takes up all the *gūṭis* and proceeds with the game in the same way as the first player did. Should the first player, however, succeed in catching all the *gūṭis*, he will lay down on the ground all the *gūṭis* except one. This one he now throws upwards and before it comes down, he has to pick up from the ground a second *gūṭi* without touching the other *gūṭis* lying about on the ground, and at the same time he has to intercept the former *gūṭis* before it reaches the ground. Now, with the two *gūṭis* in his hand, he again throws up one of them, and while it is up in the air, has to pick up another *gūṭi* from the ground and, at the same time, intercept the falling *gūṭi* before it reaches down to the ground. This process has to be repeated till all the *gūṭis* lying on the ground are picked up in this way. If any of his attempts fail, he has to retire at once in favour of the player sitting next to him, and the latter in his turn will try his skill and luck in the same way. The victory or defeat in this first round of the game, which is known as *Kovā-Chil-urāṇā* is not reckon-

ed towards final victory or defeat in the game. Now the boy who began the game begins the second round. This time, too, he first takes up one *gūṭi* and throws it upwards and, while it is still up in the air, tries to pick up two *gūṭis* at a time (and not one as in the first round) and also to catch the falling *gūṭi* before it reaches the ground. In this way all the *gūṭis* have to be picked up, not by twos at a time as in the first time but one at a time, while a *gūṭi* is up in the air. He may neither touch the falling *gūṭi* with his chest nor touch any *gūṭi* lying on the ground except those he intends to take up. If under these restrictions he succeeds in taking up all the *gūṭis* at the first upward throw, and, as before, one *gūṭi* after each subsequent-throwing up of a *gūṭi*, he plays the third round as before. If he succeeds in the third round, he has to try the process once more, and this time he has to pick up four *gūṭis* from the ground at the first upward throw. If on any occasion he fails to pick up the requisite number of *gūṭis* or to catch the falling *gūṭi*, he loses the game and has to sit aside and give place to the next player. Should he succeed uniformly till the end, he has to measure the ground first with a span of the hand of the player sitting next to him on the right and has to place a *gūṭi* at each end of the span; and between one upward throw and the fall of the *gūṭi* he has to pick up both the *gūṭis* from the ground and then catch the falling *gūṭi*. If he succeeds, the player to his right has next to measure one cubit of the ground with his hand, and to place two *gūṭis* at each end of the measured line, and he has to repeat the process as before. A similar process is then repeated, by measuring the ground with the measure, first, of the foot of the player to his right, then of his leg up to the knees,

then of the whole leg from the waist to the foot, then of his chest, then of his face from one ear to another. Thus is the entire body of the player to his right said to be "bound". If he succeeds in fully "binding" the body of his next companion in this way, he begins the game over again from the beginning. But if he fails to do so, the player next to him tries his hand as the first player did. And if he fails at any stage, it is the turn of the player next to his right to try his hand. And so on it goes till a player fully succeeds in "binding" the player next on his right. This successful player then hits a *gūṭi* at the knees of his companion who has been "bound" up, and is declared to be the winner of the game.

12. Chal-guti.—This game is played by two boys who sit down, front to front. Seven shallow holes in a line are made on the ground before each of the two players, and a few small pebbles or *gūṭis* are placed in each hole. One player begins the game by taking up all the *gūṭis* from one of the holes in front of him. He goes on placing one of the *gūṭis* in each of the holes, serially, first on his side and then on the side of his opponent. When the *gūṭis* are all thus disposed of, he takes up all the *gūṭis* from the hole next to the one in which he put down the last *gūṭi* in his hand, and goes on again putting down these *gūṭis*, one after another, consecutively in each hole beginning from the one next to that from which the *gūṭis* have been just taken up. When all the *gūṭis* in his hand are thus put down, and the hole next to that in which the last *gūṭi* in his hand has been placed is not an empty one, he takes up the *gūṭis* from that hole and goes on in the same way. If, however, the hole next to the one in which

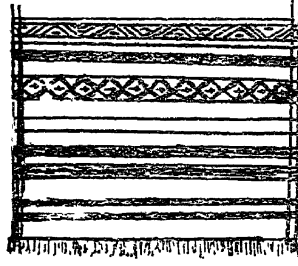
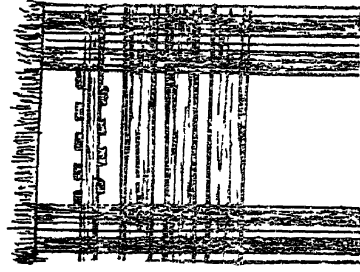
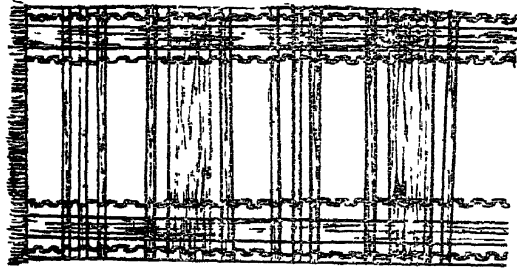
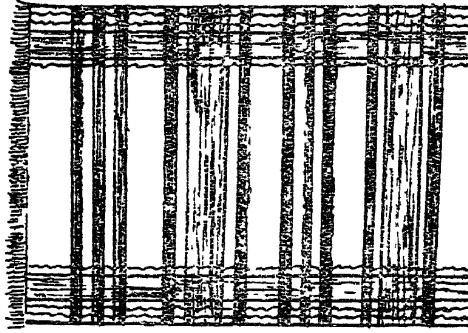
he put down the last *gūṭi* in his hand, is empty, he takes up all the *gūṭis* in the hole next to the empty one, and keeps them as his own. Then his opponent begins from the hole next to the one which the first player just emptied by taking out all the *gūṭis* for himself, and proceeds to put down *gūṭis* in each successive hole in the same manner as the first player did. When in this process he reaches two successive holes, his turn is finished and his opponent begins again and proceeds as before. The latter too, when he comes to more than one empty hole, side by side, has to give way to his opponent again. In this way the game goes on, by turns, till one of the players succeeds in securing all the *gūṭis* and is declared to have won the game.

Conclusion.— Such are some specimens of the myths and legends, aetiological tales (or “Just-so-stories”, as Kipling termed them), riddles and proverbs, children’s games, sky-lore, folk-medicine, beliefs regarding dreams and omens,— all which form an important part of the present living culture of the Khārīā.

Although the term “folk-lore” is generally applied, in the restricted sense of the term, to popular legends, myths, traditional customs and superstitions, ballads and songs, still surviving among the backward classes in civilised societies as remnants or vestiges of the cultural past of those societies which their cultured classes have long more or less out-grown, yet, for want of a better term, we have extended the use of the term “folk-lore” to similar classes of material that still form an integral part, practically the entire *corpus*, of the present intellectual culture of a primitive tribe like the Khārīās.

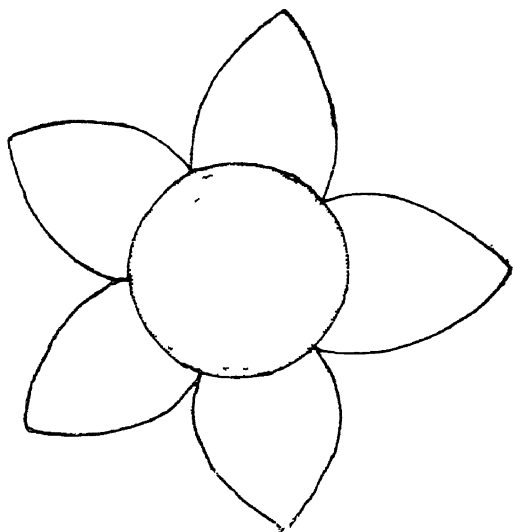
Parts of this Khāriā folk-lore might appear to bear evidence of the influence of Hindu folk-lore; much of it would appear to be the common property, with local variations, of tribes on the same level of culture all over the Central Belt of India; and some of it are undoubtedly of indigenous Khāriā origin. But whether indigenous or borrowed, this folk-lore, in passing through the Khāriā's mind, has acquired the distinctive impress of the Khāriā's indigenous mode of thought and expression.

The term 'tradition' might perhaps have been more suitably applied to much of the lore given above. Khāriā traditions regarding their original home and subsequent migrations, though not absolutely safe guides would appear to throw some light, however dim and uncertain, on their pre-history and unrecorded ancient history. In fact, much of what we call the "folk-lore" of civilised races were the practices and beliefs of those races in their uncivilised past, and since cast off by the progressive sections of the community and retained only by conservative women-folk and other backward sections of the people. It is mostly the 'folk-tales' of the Khāriās (of which, for want of space, not more than three instances could be cited in this book,) that may properly be included within the term 'folk-lore'; for it is these that illustrate an earlier stage of thought and culture that the Khāriās have since outgrown. They are "fossils" of the Khāriā's mind and thought at a much more primitive stage of intellectual culture when beasts and birds were believed to converse with men. As for other beliefs and usages of which specimens have been cited, they acutally reveal the present life and ways of thinking and feeling of the bulk of the tribe and have still sufficient meaning for them.

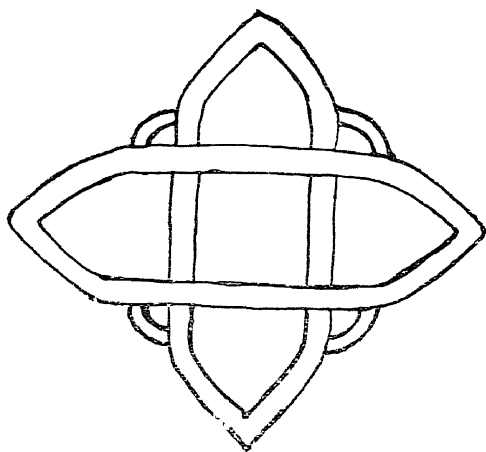


Specimens of Khāriā embroidery (*āñchā*).

(To face p. 472)



1. Drawing for the *Longoe Dibharnā* ceremony.



2. A Drawing for the *Deothān* ceremony.

Plate XI.—Specimens of Khārīā Art (Religious Drawings).

(To face p. 473)

CHAPTER XV.

Khārīā Art, Dances and Songs.

As Khārīā folk-tales, traditional legends, and myths, embody the tribe's earlier intellectual efforts to understand and account for various natural phenomena besides their own tribal origins and past history and the origin of some of their religious rites, so, too, their tribal art, such as it is, particularly their songs give us an insight into the tribe's soul, their innermost feelings, ideals and aspirations, and their sense of the beautiful.

Some writers have traced the origins of Art to magic and religious propitiation. Indeed, as we have seen, drawings in different colours, are ritually employed by the Khārīā in religious propitiation, carvings on wood are made as a symbol of the spirit Bārṇḍā, and so forth. But neither religion nor magic would appear to be the only, nor perhaps the primary, motive that prompted the art of the Khārīās or of other communities. The carvings made by the Khārīās on their bamboo-flutes and wooden combs and on the door-planks of their houses, and the floral and other designs embroidered by their women-folk on the Khārīā's clothes appear to have been prompted by a desire to beautify those objects, just as the tatoo-marks of Khārīā women appear to have been prompted by the desire to beautify the body. Specimens of their pictorial art, both religious and secular are illustrated in the Plate facing this page. The two diagrams in the upper row

represent religious drawings, The first figure is drawn in connection with a rite observed in some Dūdh Khāriā families on the occasion of the *Lōngōe Dībhārṇā* ceremony (see pp. 297 ff *ante*). We referred in connection with this ceremony of 'calling back the shade' to the practice of placing an earthen-ware vessel at the topend of a tripod made of three twigs of the *Keoṇḍ* (Khāriā, *Tirel*) or *Diospyros melanoxylon* tree. Some Dūdh Khāriās draw a lotus-like diagram (as in *Illustration*) on the ground over which this tripod is set up. The lines forming the circumference of the inner circle of this diagram are drawn with coal-dust, rice-flour, and burnt reddish earth from the hearth. The second diagram is drawn on the occasion of the *Bondāi* festival in some Khāriā families who call a *Deonṛā* to celebrate what is called by the Hindu name of *Deothān* ceremony. The diagram represents the points of the compass. Over the diagram a *diyom* or lighted lamp is placed; and the Deonṛā prays to Mother-Earth and the Ancestor-spirit and "Bando Rāṇi" ('spirit of Vegetation'.) to 'rise'. On this occasion some *Deonṛās* perform the *Kānlā-dad* ceremony for preparing medicines. All the diagrams on the same plate were actually drawn by a Khāriā, whose father made sculptured the door-planks figured in the Plate.

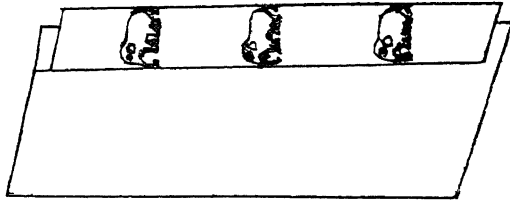
A sense of beauty and the artistic impulse would appear to be natural to man even in a primitive stage of culture. In fact, language itself is an artistic invention. ¹¹¹ The style of the language of the folk-tales and myths of the Khāriās exhibit a naturalistic art which, though simple and rugged, is yet pleasing.

111. Space forbids our dealing in this book with the Khāriā's language, except only noting a few salient features of the language of his songs.

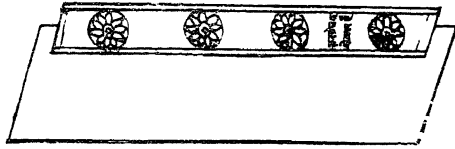


Ornamented flute

1.



2. Sculptures on door-plank.



3. *Dori-Chowra*.



A Dūdh Khāyā (Protestant) boy
(Bisrām Kuln) at School.

Plate XI.—Specimens of Khāyā Art.

(To face p. 474)

The agricultural Dūdh Khārīā, with his life of comparative leisure at certain seasons of the year, has been able to build up a poetic technique of his own which, though elementary and halting, helps to give outer expression, however inadequate, to his inner emotions. The songs of the other sections of the tribe appear to be inferior both in matter and manner.

As their imperfect and halting language and comparatively scanty vocabulary generally fail to give satisfying expression to the depth of their emotions in songs alone, the Khārīās seek the aid of rhythmic movements of the feet to supplement the words and lines of thier songs, and thus their songs are generally accompanied by dances. By the various steps, and the forward and backward, circular and lateral, movements, and pantomimic postures of their dances, and the various modulations of the singer's voice, the Khārīās, like similar other tribes, seek to give expression to different types and degrees of emotion, and to add to the meaning and force of their songs.

Indeed, it is through their songs and dances, even more perhaps than through their rites and ceremonies or other media, that the Khārīās seek to satisfy their inner urge for revealing their soul. These give expression to their inmost feelings, their joys and sorrows, their natural affections and passions, their social emotions and ideals and last, but not the least, their appreciation, however crudely inadequate and inartistically expressed, of beauty in Nature and in man. Besides serving to relieve the emotional burden of the individual Khārīā singer through self-expression, Khārīā songs, sung in the presence of large gatherings of their tribe-fellows, further acquire the "relieving power of social expression" by awakening similar

feelings and sentiments in the minds of the audience, and thus enhance the delight of both singers and listeners.

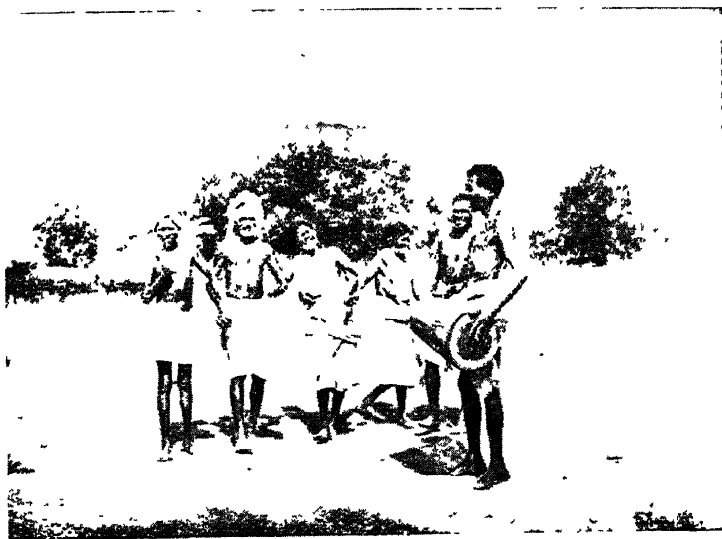
As their songs are not recited but only sung, the Khāriā composers of songs do not care for rhymes. To make up for paucity of words in their vocabulary to express the intensity of their emotions, they have recourse to such devices as the repetition of the same idea in identical or synonymous words and phrases, repetition of the same lines, employment of onomatopoeic words and expressions, the use of certain expletives to add emphasis, the lengthening of vowel-sounds for the sake of euphony, and occasionally the use of a loan-word from their Hindu neighbours.

Khāriā Dances.

Khāriā youths of both sexes dance together. In a few dances, the dancers of the two sexes divide themselves in two or more separate rows; and in some dances old men and women dance together, though a few young persons, too, may sometimes join in those dances. In most dances, a few young men play on drums and stand in front of the dancers a little apart. These young men begin a song and, when they have sung a distich or a stanza, the dancers take it up and repeat it, or the end-lines only, in chorus, and all dance to the tune of the song.

Every season has for the Dūdh Khāriā not only its appropriate occupation, but has also its appropriate songs and dances. Broadly speaking, Khāriā songs may be divided into five classes known respectively as—(1) *Hāriō*, (2) *Kinbhār*, (3) *Hālkā*, (4) *Kūḍhing*, and (5) *Jadurā*,

The Hāriāo Dance.—In the months of Māgh or Māgho (January-February) boys and girls and youths of



39. Dūdh Khārīā Old-folks' Dance.



40. *Pāru* or *Hālkā* Dance.

(To face p. 476)

both sexes dance what they call *Hāriō* dances. They dance these dances in the *Jātrās* or dancing-meets which are held in different villages by turns; and young men and women from a number of villages join in these dances. The dancers arrange themselves generally in columns and now and again spread out in a line, each dancer placing his or her hands on the necks of the dancers next to him or her on either side. The steps are martial, the movements quick, and sometimes the dancers appear to be almost running. The dancers sometimes also stand in a row holding each other's hands and dance round and round so as to describe circles. In these *Hāriō* dances the dancers dance in an erect posture and do not stoop. Some old people also take part. Men play on the *māṇḍal* drum.

(2.) **Kinbhār, or Court-Yard Dances:**— The period from *Phālgun* to *Baisākh* (February to May) is the season for the *Kinbhār* or Court-yard (*Āngan*) dances, in which young men and women as also middle-aged people join. The dancers, while singing, go round in a circle; but as soon as one distich is sung, the circle of dancers move forward and shout in chorus—"Hō-rē Hārē", or "Hir-r-r-r." As the dancers move forward, the drummers who play on their drums with their faces towards the circle of dancers recede backwards. Then the dancers, in their turn, begin to retrace their steps, and the drummers follow them. When the dancers, go back to their starting point, they again dance in a circle. This is a stooping dance, in which the dancers and the drummers all dance with a stoop. The steps of the dance are slow, one foot resting on the ground while the other is put forward or backward.

In one form of this dance the dancers stand in two rows a little apart, one row facing the other. The two rows of dancers advance towards each other and when they approach within a few feet of each other, the dancers stamp their feet vehemently on the ground, and then they recede, dancing backwards and sometimes stooping while receding.

(3). **Hālkā Dance:**— In the *Hālkā* dances, both sexes dance together in an orderly arrangement. They divide themselves into two parties that sing by turns. The two parties move backwards and forwards in parallel lines, one facing the other. Each dancer in a line clasps, with his or her right arm, the left arm of the dancer next to him or her on the right, and with his or her left arm the right arm of the dancer next to him or her on the left. The hands thus joined together from the palm to the elbow are held a little forward. The dance begins with the singing of a distich of a song. *Hālkā* dances are not accompanied by music.

Each party at first moves round in a circle with a slightly stooping posture. At the termination of a song or a distich, the dancers of each party with a half-turn spread out in a line and come to an abrupt halt, and after one long jump and two short jumps they take a high jump and vigorously stamp their feet down on the ground, and in a deafening chorus give a lusty shout of “Hur-r-r” or “Hirr-r-r”. Once again they form into lines and, with measured steps, dance or rather march forward; and each party sing a song or distich by turns. In this dance elderly people of both sexes dance along with younger people. The songs sung with the *Hālka* dance are classed as “Pārū”. *Pārū* songs are also sung without

dances by young men and boys while sitting on the Hills or meadows and watching their cattle grazing on the sprouting grass. The voice of the singer alternately rises high and falls low. Those sung from *Baisākh* and *Jeṭh* (middle of April to middle of June) are called *Jeṭhuāri Pārū*, and those from *Aswin* to *Pous* (middle of September to middle of January) are called *Kūari Pārū*, and those from *Māgh* to *Chait* (middle of January to middle of April) are called *Phaguāri Pārū*. The songs and tunes of the different sub-divisions of the *Pārū* dance differ from one another, but the steps are the same.

(4). **Kūḍhing or Jātrā dances:**— Those fall into two classes called respectively *Jeṭhuāri* danced in *Baisākh* and *Jeṭh* and *Kuāri* from *Aghān* to *Chait*. Boys and girls dance together and place their hands on each other's neck, and advance and recede, sometimes in straight lines, one line behind the another, and sometimes in semicircles or circles. The dancers swing their legs forwards and backwards alternately, and then raise their right legs about a foot high. *Māṇḍal* drums and *Jhāñj* clappers are played upon by the men in this dance.

The months of *Jeṭh* and *Baiśākh* (May-June) are the season for the *Kāsā* (*Jeṭh*) *Kuḍhing* dances. In the *Jādura* class of *Kuḍing* or *Jātrā* dances, men and women dance together, clasping each other's neck, and advancing and receding in measured steps in a stooping posture, the legs of all the dancers together rising and falling alternately. A few men play on the drum and stand facing the dancers, and advance and recede in unison with the dancers.

The *Kuḍhing* or *Jātrā* dances comprise the *Doyor*. In the *Doyor* dance, young men of both sexes dance

together and form long lines each dancer, clasping within his right armpit the left hand of the dancer next to him on the right and within his left hand the right hand of the dancer on his left. The long rows of dancers move round and round in circles, with light steps, as if running.

Another class of *Kūḍhing* dances are known as *Indo-Kūḍhing* or *Inrdail*. The months of *Aṣārh* and *Srāvan* (July and August) are wet months when the dancing grounds are often slippery, and so dances cannot be held regularly every night. Such dances as are held during these months are of the same classes as in the month of *Jeth*. In the month of *Kuār* or *Āswīn* (September-October) *Indrail* dances are taken up and carried on till *Kārtik* (November and December). *Indrail* dances are of three classes known respectively as *Thārhiā*, *Lāhsuā* and *Rāṭā*.

In these dances boys and girls, young men and women dance together. In the *Thārhiā* form of *Indrail* dances, all the dancers stand in a line and dance in an erect posture without stooping. In the *Lāhsua* form of *Indrail*, the dancers move to the tune of the songs with slow measured steps in a stooping posture and sometimes almost sit down. But when a distich is finished, the dancers move with quick steps and come to an abrupt halt with a jump. In the *Rāṭā* form of *Indrail*, the dancers stand one behind another each holding with both his or her hands the upper arm of the dancer in front of him or her. They move in circles with quick steps sometimes falling into running and now and then jumping.

In the *Doyor* form of *Hālkā* dances young men of

both sexes dance together and form long lines, each dancer taking within his or her right arm-pit the left arm of the dancer next to him on the right and within his or her left arm-pit the right arm of the dancer on his or her left, and interlacing the fingers of the hands of the dancer on either side with his or her own fingers. The long rows of dancers move round and round in circles. The *Hālkā* dances of this season are mostly danced by fairly old men and women. In the month of *Kārtik* (October-November), called *Bowlāi* by the Khāriās, the *Indrail* dance is danced by young men and women; and the *Hālkā* dance is danced by old men and women. In the *Ṭhāriā* dance, the dancers dance in an erect posture but slightly sway their bodies sidewise. Sometimes the dancers in the *Ṭhāriā* and *Lāhsuā* and *Dōyōr* dances carry sticks which they hold up in their hands or over their shoulders.

(5) **Jadurā Dances.**—The *Jadurā* dances are generally played at the village *Ākhrās*. Either women alone or both sexes together dance, clasping one another's arms, and advance and recede in measured steps in a low stooping posture. The legs of all the dancers are alternately lifted up and let fall in unison. Generally the dancers arrange themselves in two rows facing each other, the drummers standing in the middle. While one row advances towards the drummers, the opposite row also does the same; and while one row recedes, the other row also does the same. When there is only one row of dancers, then as the dancers advance the drummers recede, and *vice versa*.

Such are the principal dances of the Khāriās. The primary object of their dances appear to be to give

expression to the surging emotions of the soul by the rhythmic movements of the feet and swayings of the body. The Khāriās appear to have a general notion that their seasonal dances, by some mystic sympathy, stimulate the beneficent forces of nature so as to induce plenty in crops and game. As we watch the dancers in their various dances—in some with alternate forward and backward steps, in some with light and in others with heavy steps, in some marching in columns, in others wheeling round and round in circles and again spreading out in a straight line, in some arranged in parallel lines, in some stooping low and swaying their hands to and fro, and in others dancing in an erect posture and at intervals stamping their feet on the ground and at the termination of a song bursting forth in chorus in a deafening exclamation of ‘Hir-r-r’ or ‘Hur-r-r’, we may imagine the various movements and postures and exclamations to be pantomimic representations intended to exert a beneficent magical influence on different agricultural operations and other seasonal activities of the tribe. But the Khāriās themselves possess no such notion at the present day.

Songs (Ālong).

Most Khāriā songs are meant to be sung at the seasonal dances of the tribe. Only a few of them are not accompanied by dancing. Such are most of their marriage songs called “Durāng”, besides some snatches of songs sung at a few of their games or interspersed in a few folktales and some songs chanted by their magicians at their seances.

The subject-matters of the Khāriā’s songs comprise most of those elemental and abiding affections that are common to humanity, such as the joys and sorrows of youth-

love, and the joys and anxieties of parental and filial affection. A joyful appreciation of the beauty of flowers and birds form the themes of a large number of Khārīā songs. These simple songs reveal to us the real soul of the tribe, perhaps even more directly than their customs and institutions do. Most of these songs are mere strings of rugged exclamations, and the poverty of the Khārīā singer's expression fails to bring out the depth of his emotion, and, indeed, in these simple and natural songs much more is meant than meets the ear. In order to enter into the spirit of the songs and of the singer, one has to hear the songs sung with their usual accompaniment of dance and music in the natural surroundings of a Khārīā village.

We give below only a few random specimens of Khārīā songs with English translations, as literal as possible. Unfortunately translation into a foreign language, particularly by a translator to whom both Khārīā and English are foreign tongues, cannot be expected to bring out the full force and beauty of the Khārīā originals.

1. The Khārīā's Love of Flowers.

(1). In the following song, the Khārīā singer expresses his yearning affection for flowers which he invests with personality. He appeals to the Wind not to twist and wring the stem of the lily and to the Water not to break it, and mourns the shrivelling up of the flower at night.

Putu'b rā'rā' rā'-gōḍsi, ruiyā ruiyā rā'-gōḍsi,

Ruiyā ruiyā, hāre boitjāi!

Koyo rōnō ābu pijem; dā rōnō abu tejem

Ruiyā ruiyā rā'-gōḍsi!

Tūnbo'te rā'sitā, idibtē sid sitā.

Ruiyā ruiyā rā gōḍsi.

[Translation.]

The water-lily blossoms in small white flowers!

Those small white flowers, ah, my girl!

O Wind! Do not wring them!

O Water! Do not break them!

Those small white flowers, ah, my girl!

In day-time they blossom, at night they shrivel!

Those small white flowers, oh, my girl!

(2). In the following song, a Khāriā girl expresses her intense delight at the sight of clusters of blood-red flowers blooming on the bank of a tank.

Pokerayā hīro-tē jongōr jongōr rā'rā' ;

Re yotā yotā jiyōm gebtā, hārē hāe, Daiyā!

Re yotā yotā jiyōm gebtā, hārē hāe, Daiyā!

Dhāe se re kōnōn bābu, kej olem rē.

Yotā yotā jiyōm mālātā, hārē hārē, Daiyā!

Yotā yotā jiyōm mālātā, hārē hārē Daiyā.

[Translation.]

On the bank of yon tank, lo! Red—red—flowers!

Gazing—gazing— [at them], my heart burns [with
delight], ah!

Gazing—gazing [at them]—my heart burns [with delight]!

Go, my little brother, go, pluck and bring them.

Gazing—gazing—,[my] heart burns [with delight], ah!

Gazing—gazing—, [my] heart burns [with delight]!

(3). In the following song boys and girls express their delight at the sight of the white fragrant *gulāinchi*

(*Plumeria acutifolia*) flowers (with a yellow tinge inside the cup) which grow wild in their native jungles and hills:—

*Yōesē Dādā! Gulāiñchi birutē,
Gulāiñchi rā'si ighāe sūndar!
Dhāiñsē rē Baini, tuknu olem.
Āuā chōnānāng kej ōlnā.
Rūnū jhūnū rā'rā'tē mālā toenāng.
Hāerē rā'rā'si ighāe sūndar!*

[Translation.]

[Sister:—] "Look, O brother! yon *gulāiñchi* flowers on
the hill!

How beautiful blossom those *gulāiñchi* flowers!"

[Brother:—] "Go, O Sister, thy basket bring.

Let's go, and pluck and bring yon flowers."

[Sister:—] "With those sweet flowers, wreaths we'll weave.

O! How beautiful blossom [those flowers]!"

(4). In the following song a newly married girl expresses her yearning to gather and wear in her hair flowers growing near her parents' house, which she cannot herself pluck as her parents-in-law and brothers-in-law are there on a visit to her father's place, and social etiquette regards it as indecorous on the part of a married girl to climb a tree in the presence of her husband's father or elder brother or other superiors.

*Biru sitil sitil tē, rā'rā' dāru onob, Āpā!
Ighāe sōging rā'rā, sūndar jhābresī?
Ighāe sōging rā'rā' sūndar jhābresī?
O'tejō kinkār gūnmer, bāhertē jo bōker bāuing.
Ighāe sōging rā'rā' sūndar jhābresī
Ighāe sōging rā'rā' sūndar jhābresī.*

[Translation.]

By the edge of the hill, yon flower-trees you planted, O
Father!

How [shall I] deck my hair with flowers that in [such]
beauty bloom?

How deck my hair with flowers that in such beauty
bloom?

Inside the house sit parents-in-law, outside my brothers-
in-law;

How [shall I] deck my hair with flowers that in [such]
beauty bloom?

How deck my hair with flowers that in beauty bloom?

(5). The following song purports to be addressed to her husband at his house by a young Khāriā wife who is hankering for the possession of some beautiful flowers blossoming on the hillocks in front of her, but which she cannot gather herself out of deference to the social code which would condemn as immodest such conduct on her part in the presence of the husband's parents or elder brothers or other superiors.

Kōnōn Kōnōn biru kondengā lāṭair rē,

Hin mōnjhi keorā no rā gōḍsi lājhair rē.

Hin mōnjhi keorā no rā gōḍsi lājhair rē.

O'bhītār kinkār sasūr, bāhertē bāo hoker;

Rē ighāe sogiṅg lerē dulār keorā rā'rā' lajhair rē?

Rē ighāe soginḡ lerē dular keorā rā'rā' lajhair rē?

[Translation.]

On small low hill stand bamboo-groves,

In between bamboos [sweet] *Keorā*-flowers in gladness
bloom.

In between bamboos *Keorā*-flowers in gladness bloom.
 Inside the house sit parents-in-law, outside my brothers-
 in-law.

O, my beloved! How shall I deck my hair with those
Keorā-flowers?

O, my beloved! How deck my hair with those *Keorā*-
 flowers?

2. The Khārīā's Love of Birds.

In a large number of songs, the Khārīā singer gives expression to his love of birds. Beautiful birds of various colours flying and swinging around him, the magnificent peacock trailing its many-hued feathers along the ground, the stately storks riding like kings on the backs of cattle grazing in field and jungle,—all these touch a sympathetic chord in the Khārīā's heart and inspire his 'Muse'. Below we give a few specimens of the Khārīā's bird-songs:—

(6). *Kōnōn mahā kadamb dārū.*

Hariārō kolerāing.

Rē kolēnāing sōnē dhelūā jhūketā.

Re kolē-nāing rupē dhelūā jhuketā.

[Translation.]

Amid the *Kadamb* trees, large and small,

My green-feathered parrot swings.

O! My parrot swings on a golden swing;

O! my parrot swings on a silver swing.

(7). *Mārānāing! Mārānāing! Hārē Mārānāing!*

Hārē Mārā āmā jhāil uslō-jōtē.

Hārē Mārā āmā tihli aiylul khōrtē.

Mārānāing! Mārānāing! Hārē Mārānāing!
Hārē Mārā! Iṣṣā kūṣū ber sām̐bhrāe.
Hārē Mā, ā! Iṣṣā kūṣū ber yokāe.

[Translation.]

Peacock mine! Pea-cock mine! My Peacock, O!
 O Peacock! [How] thy feathers sweep the ground!
 O Peacock! [How] to and fro thy tail doth wave!
 Peacock mine! Peacock mine! My Peacock, O!
 O Peacock; [say] who my heart's trouble will relieve?
 O Peacock; [say] who my heart's sorrow will allay?
 (8). *Banklūi ki, Bābu, Rājālēkē kāchhāri tāki.*
Rājā-lēkē kāchhāri tāki.
Baiṁsi toblūngtē rājā-lēkē kāchhāri tāki.
Rājā lēkē kāchhāri tāki.

[Translation.]

The herons, my boy, like kings are holding Court,
 Like kings are holding Court!
 On buffaloes' backs, like kings, they sit in state,
 Like kings they sit in state!

(9). *Hōhōrē Rāilō kōlē! Rāilō kōlē' uslō'tē dōkōtā'.*
Hōhōrē Rāilō kōlē! Rūsūng rūsūng ṭhōr dāiā,
Hariāro pener rē, Rāilō kōlē! Rāilō kōlē uslōtē dōkōtā.
Hōhōrē Rāilō kōlē!

[Translation.]

O [my] Rāilō parrot!
 The Rāilō parrot on the ground doth sit.
 O [my] Rāilō parrot!
 Red-red—[thy] beak, O!

Green—green—[thy] wings, O [my] Rāilō parrot!
 [My] Rāilō parrot on the ground doth sit.
 O [my] Railo parrot !

3. The Khāriā's appreciation of the Rainy Season,— its Beauties and Drawbacks.

In a number of songs, the Khāriā singer sings of his delight at the advent of the rains as also his discomforts and occasional sufferings during the rains. In the following song, the Khāriā poet, in expressing his delight at the advent of the monsoon, naturally employs the imagery of his own agricultural operations. Just as the Khāriā cultivator levels the mud in his rice-field with his harrow, and his boys scatter paddy-seedlings and women-folk transplant the paddy-seedlings, so the Khāriā poet represents the *Dhāmnā* snake, crawling about during the rains as levelling the ground by its movements, the tad-poles skipping about in the rains as scattering paddy-seeds in the manner of girls, and the frogs croaking during rains as singing songs like women in the fields, and the herons stalking about as transplanting paddy-seedlings in the fields in the manner of Khāriā women.

(10). *Bōrway Jāshpur gē, Mā joē.*

Bijolinō chamaketā, bijolino chamaketā.

Bijolinō chamaketā; jhamējham dā gimtē,

Rāsē rās dā gimtē,

Jhamējham dā gimtē, Nayorē!

Rāsē rās dā gimtē.

Jāmṛho bhōlē pātā tārtē, rē,

Dūndlū bhōlē biḍā tārtē.

Kenḍoḍ bhōlē ālongtā;

*Bānklui bhōlē rōāontē,
kē rōāonteki!*

[Translation.]

Towards Borway and Jāshpur, O Mother!
The lightening flashes,—O the lightening flashes!
The lightening flashes; in driblets falls the rain.
In torrents pours the rain.
O Mother! In driblets falls the rain.
Deftly the *Jāmṛho* ¹¹² plies the harrow,
Neatly the tad-pole the seedlings strew.
The frogs sing songs in glee.
Neatly the herons the seedlings plant,
The seedlings transplant!

(11). For some people, however, the rainy season may sometimes prove a source of misery. In the first of the two following songs, the Khāṛiā poet appreciates and sympathises with the delight of fishes during the rains, but bemoans the prospect of himself being drenched all over in his leaky hut.

*Aṣāṛh Sāoān dā gimtē,
Hārē būdnū ighāe lērē dāmsi!
Moeñj bitā jō, moeñj kadam kōsōr ṭhañrō ūmbō!
Hāe ighāerō janā pātar sūḍnāing.*

[Translation.]

In Aṣāṛh and Sāwan [O! how] it rains!
O, *Būdnū*-fish, what merry time for thee is come!
Not a span of dry land, not a step of dry earth!
O how drenched [in rain] all night I shall be.

(12) In the following song, we hear a Khāṛiā woman approving of the devotion to work of her girl who is engag-

112. This is the Khāṛiā term for the *Dhāmnā* snake.

ed in reaping thatching-grass in the rains and is singing unmindful of the drenching of her body by rain-water. And the woman also laments that her husband who is still out in the rains must have been thoroughly drenched.

Ālong ālōngnā, Beṭi, olong sāe.

Jhōri dā gimtē bhērē jhāri n̄yeri suḍtā.

Hāe Boiā, āpḍom inā ūmem yotā,

Jhōri dā gimtē bhērē jhāri n̄yeri suḍtā.

[Translation.]

Sing songs, my girl, whilst reaping thatching-grass.

While ceaseless it rains, thy whole body is drenched.

O, husband mine, ¹¹³ thou dost not come [though called] !

While ceaseless it rains, oh thy body gets drenched !

(13). The following song describes how an orphan boy while out playing or wandering about gets drenched with rain and, fearing the scolding of his elder brother and elder brother's wife for his truant habits, has stood in hiding sometimes under a tree and sometimes under the eaves at the back of the house.

Jhōritē gimtē, koyotē tāpā'tē,

Hārē ingā ārābḍū, dāru-bo'tē jāpāsi;

Jorol dātē tōngōnsi.

Ābu gilem, Dādā; ābu lejem, Āji.

Joroldātē tōngōnsi,

Kūṇḍāb singtē jāpāsi.

[Translation.]

Ceaseless it rains; high blows the wind;

Rain-water comes in squalls.

Oh, my orphan-boy! Under a tree he has stood in hiding.

113. *Lit.*, my daughter's father.

Underneath the eaves he has stood.

Beat him not, O Brother! Scold him not, O Sister-in-law!

Under the eaves he has stood,

At back [of the hut] he has hid himself.

(14). In the following song a poor Khāriā woman laments the prospect of starvation, towards the latter part of the rainy season when strong winds and the intermittent strong heat of the sun prevent the development of the fluid substance ("milk" as the Khāriā calls it) that goes to the formation of the *gūṇḍlū* and *gōḍā* grains of his fields. She laments that her stock of the dried corolla of the *mūrūn* is exhausted, the frying-pan on which she used to roast the *mūrūn* is broken, the *gūḍlū* and *gōḍā* of her fields have no grains in them; and she is at a loss how to maintain herself and her family without any grains or other food.

Mūrūn jo bōngki, gāli jo pā'ki;

Hāe Dādā! Igāe-rō dinōnāng chōnā?

Gūḍlūkō ḍhūschhā, gōḍākō bhusā,

Hāe! Dādā! Igāe-rō dinonāng chōnā?

[Translation.]

[Our stock of] *Murun* is finished! The pan is broken!

Alas! My dear, how shall our days be spent?

The *gūḍlūs* have no grains, the *gōḍās* are mere husks,

Alas! my dear! How shall our days be spent?

4. Mutual Affection of Brothers and Sisters.

(15). In the following song a girl is represented as expressing her appreciation of her brother's deep affection for her. She declares that with such a loving brother to look after her, she will not use common

furniture and decorations (e.g. leaf-mat spread on the bare ground for a bed or a seat, and rude bamboo hair-combs), but that her brother will, for the mere asking, provide for her the best luxuries they can think of (such as string-beds and string-stools, and combs made of horn).

Inḡkō inḡkō, Dādā, kōsor lārō j'henṭu tē,

Umingā rō' ḡokonā?

Inḡkō inḡkō, Dādā, khāṭiā māchiā te ḡokonāing.,

Khaṭiā machiātē ḡokonāing.

Inḡkō inḡkō, Dādā, kōsōr kōnḡeng

Kānāsibūng umingārō' kāḡē.

Umingā rō kāḡē.

Inḡkō inḡkō Dādā bon-bhaiṇsā ḡerengā,

Kānāsibūng kāḡing,

Kānāsibung ului kāḡing.

[Translation.]

I, my brother, I on dried palm-leaf mats shall never sit;
Shall never sit.

I, my Brother! I upon beds and stools of string shall sit.
On beds and stools of string shall sit.

I, my Brother! I with dried-bamboo combs

[My hair] shall never comb!

My hair shall never comb.

I, my Brother! I with comb of wild buffalo-horn shall comb.

My hair shall comb.

(16). The following song expresses the sorrow of parents at parting with their daughter just married:—

Torej būng kuṇḡā būng, būiyoj re beṭing!

Ompāyā jilā lekhen yotām rē beṭing!

Ompāyā suri lekhen yotām!

Ātij-tāe manoā ki ārē-kimōe ḡelki-mōe,

Bhāwañr jāl kindrāegā kindrāega delkimōe!
Ompāeyā jilā lekhen chhañraeyō rō dothōki.
Ompāeyā suri lekhen chhañraeyo rō dothoki.

[Translation.]

With broken grains and husks of rice,
 Thee, my girl, I nursed,
 [Bright] like *Jilā* [fish] sparkling in streams,
 Thou look'st, my girl!
 Like *Suri* [fish] glistening in the waters, dost thou look!
 From where did men come down, [those] men came down?
 Their cast-nets—whirling—whirling—they came.
 They fished thee out as a *jilā*-fish in streams,—
 They took [thee] away!

(17). The following song expresses the sorrow of a brother at separation from his sister who has been married, and the reciprocal sorrow of the sister and her intense delight while going back to her parents' place. It is interesting to note that the Khāriā in this song compares the beauty of his sister to that of a fair Brāhmaṇ girl and to that of the white flower of the *Kāsi* grass. -

Tondeng rā'rā' lekheñ yotām re, Baini!
Bāmhanin beṭi lekheñ yotam, re Baini!
Bāmhanin beṭi lekheñ yotām!
Nahiyār chōltām, re Baini!
Ompāyā dhūritē, supli būng,
Ebogā ebogā no chōltām, re Baini!
Sasurāir chōltām, re Baini!
Moḍā' romōḍ-ḍā', joḍgā joḍgā no!
Chōltām re Baini!
Chōltām re Baini!

[Translation.]

Like [white] *Kāṣi*-flower thou look'st, O Sister!
 Like a Brāhmaṇ girl thou look'st, O Sister!
 Like a Brāhmaṇ girl, dost thou look !
 When to thy parents' place thou goest, O Sister!
 Playing with river's sand on thy small winnow!
 Playing—playing,—thou goest, O Sister!
 Playing—playing,—thou goest, O Sister!
 [But] While to thy husband's place thou goest, O Sister!
 Wiping—wiping — tears from thy eyes,
 Thou goest, my Sister ! Thou goest, O my Sister!

(18) The following song expresses the sorrow of a sister at separation from her brother.

Sori sori āokināṅ, Bhāi jōē !
Tāmāko irgte melāē tutejḍem, Bhāi jōē!
Hoḍōm ṭhāñrōtē āonāmlā', Bhāi jōē!
Inḡtē moej kōnātē unem, Bhāi jōē!
Tāmgā dukhō-tē bergārō gāmē, Bhāi jōē!
Aṛiā sūkhō mōḍā rōmōḍ-ḍā gūrtāej, Bhāi jōē!

[Translation.]

Together [in one house] we lived, O Brother!
 Now me thou hast just left behind, O Brother!
 Elsewhere shouldst thou live, O Brother!
 Do thou in a corner keep room for me, O Brother!
 Our present sorrow who will guage, O Brother?
 Tears unbidden trickle down our eyes, O Brother!

5. Affection between Parents and children.

(19). The following song expresses the sorrow of a married girl at her inability to visit her parents' place

on account of the flooded Koel river which she cannot cross.

*Khiromā ḍ ngā ghāt ompāḍḍā ighāe lorengḍā yotā.
 Yoysē ḍ ngā, beṭā mānoā ighāe tuḍā ḍortāki.
 Khirōm pārōm terōb, re Māin jōe!
 Khirōm bhorēki nahīyār jo chōlki.
 Khirōm tollūngtē ḍōlōng, ḍōlōng hinte mānoa.
 Hairē Mānoa-ya romoḍ-ḍā gurtā.*

[Translation.]

By the landing of the ferry on river Koel,
 Bright and limpid flows the water.
 Look! O Boatsman! [How] men are drowning,
 Swept by the current of the flooded stream!
 Across this river, me didst thou marry, O Mother!
 Now the river is full,
 [For me] my parents' house is closed!
 On the river [is] the canoe, in the canoe are the men.
 Alas! [How] tears trickle down the eyes!

(20). In the following song we have a glimpse of the deep parental affection of the Khāriā father. In the exuberance of his delight in anticipation of his son's return home from a sojourn, he asks his wife to be ready at the door with a pot of water in preparation for the customary washing of the son's legs and feet on his home-coming.

*Bābu rē dulār Bābu, musāgā nō ḍeltāj hoi,
 Tāmā gānō ḍeltāj hoi.
 Boivirē, Boini! Loṭā tē ḍā tejē!
 Mū'sing tē tōngonnā, dulār Bābu, ḍeltāj hoi.*



41. Crossing the Koel in a canoe



42. Dūdh Khārīā women dancing a form of the *Jadura* dance. (Note the hands joined in front).

(To face p. 496)

[Translation.]

My boy, my darling boy, will come to-day.
 O just now he must be coming!
 O dear, my dear! With pot of water on thy head,
 [To wash his feet] On the door-way stand.
 My darling boy must be coming!

6. Love of young Men and Women.

Many are the songs in which the Khāriā sings of the joys and sorrows of youthful love. Below we give a few random specimens of such songs:—

(21). In the following song a Khāriā lover complains that although he has worn out many wooden slippers in going to and from his sweet-heart's village to pay court to her, he has not yet succeeded in his suit.

Diyō diyō sāngōḍ-kiñg, dhañi,
Āmā lobhē amā lōbhē dhañi ;
Gholjori khāṭṇāhi gosōḍ-ki, dhāñi,
Dhani, āmā thomgā.

[Translation.]

Daily—daily—I walked, my dear!
 For thy love, my dear, for thy love!
 Twelve pairs of wooden slippers I've worn out, my dear!
 For thy love, my dear, for thy love!

(22). The following song represents a lover searching in fields and jungles for her sweet-heart. He learns from the goat-herds and shepherds that her sweet-heart, too, has just passed that way, weeping and lamenting her lot.

*"Erē erē merom-gupāki, erē erē bheri-gupāki,
 Atā senghōr, rē Bābu, Boini cholki?
 Kūṇḍāb mugām bheri-gupāki,
 Hāntij utij merom-gupāki,
 Ātā senghōr, rē, bābu Boini naiṅg chōlki ?
 Kinir jhāṅkoe biru gārḥā
 Kīrō bānāē bhōresimōe.
 Ātā gojhung, rē bābu,
 Boini naiṅg cholki?"*
*"Bokobtē khāpākōn lutuite rāngosi,
 Yāmgā torogā musingtij cholki".*

[Translation.]

"O Goat-herds! O Shepherds!
 Which way, O boys, my love is gone?
 Before and behind me [are] the shepherds,
 On either side [are] the goat-herds.
 [Say,] which side, O boys, my love is gone?
 In forest and brush-wood, in hollow and on hill,
 Tigers and bears abound.
 Which way, O boys, is my sweet-heart gone?"
 [Shepherds]:— "Her hands over her head,
 With cloth across her shoulders,
 Wailing and weeping thy darling eastwards went".

(23). In the following song a girl on her way to the village-spring is fascinated by a young man playing on a bamboo-flute, and asks her brother to inform her parents to arrange her marriage with that young man. In this and the following song, the Khāriā poet, it may be noted, likens the beauty of a girl to that of a ripe [smooth black] *ḍurib* fruit. In a previous song we have met with another ideal of beauty, viz., that of

a fair Brāmhaṇ girl, fair and white as *Kāsi* grass. It will appear that the Khāriā appreciates the beauty of both fair as well as dark skin-colour.

Chungdā-no godjhūng tē ber rūtū peḍtē?

Ber rutu peḍte rē?

Durib belong konsel, dā olnā choltā

Romōḍ-lā gūrta, Rōmōḍ-lā gūrta.

Dhāiñ-se, re Bhāi joe! Māte gamgorem,

Āpā-tē ūtūn-gōrem, Ing ūming chōnā,

Hāe iññā Mā jōe, bhaiñsi-nō obsongorē,

Kongtāng-nō obsongōrē, Ing uming chōnā.

[Translation.]

On the way to the spring, who pipes the flute?

Who pipes the flute, O?

A girl [black] like durib ripe, to draw water goes!

[At sound of the flute,] Tears drop down her eyes,

Tears drop down!

“Go, O little Brother, to my mother say,—

My father inform,—I will not go [back].

O my Mother, do thou thy buffalo [for my bride-price] sell,

Thy cow too, sell. I will not go [back].”

(24). The following song, too, reveals the Khāriā's passion for music. In this song, too, we hear of a Khāriā girl being fascinated by a young flute-player.

Barway Birutē cholkim, re Dādā!

Korī bhōrē rūtū nōrē Dādā!

Durib belōng kōnseltē bājkim no rē, Dādā!

Korī bhōrē rūtū nō rē Dādā!

Durib belōng kōnsel malā' ki rē Dādā!

Korī bhore rutubong, rē Dādā!

[Translation.]

Whether she be wedded to thee, or still unwed,

Don't beat her, my Boy, but let her dance. *

For, after all, she is thine own.

Don't beat her, my Boy, but let her dance.

My daughter has tassels [to her cloth for dance].

Don't beat her, O Boy, but let her dance.

My daughter has braids to adorn her hair,

Don't beat her, my Boy, but let her dance.

(26). Early in the morning many Khārīā women go to some flat rock near the village to husk rice for the day's use. In the following song we hear a woman asking her husband to look after their child in her absence, when she leaves the house early in the morning to husk rice and from there intends to go and join other women at a dance.

Hōñ gāmtelā bōyōtē pāngōḍe,

Ing gāmtelā ḍurungnā chōltāing.

Gōrōj meā boyotē pāngōḍē,

Ing gamtelā lerenā choltāing.

Boyotē pangoḍtē, āḍikō lerenā choltā.

[Translation.]

"Take thou the child, take him up on thy arms.

[Keep him,] I say, for to husk rice I go.

Early in the morning, do thou take up the child,

[After husking rice in early morning] I go to dance."

He takes the boy in his arms; she goes to dance.

8. Songs expressive of the Khārīā's Tribal Fellow-feeling and Hospitality.

(27). In the following song, a Khārīā, who has walked a long distance to ask the hand of a desirable

* Lit., make merry.

bride for his son, tells the father of a suitable girl that he will take no refusal. The song breathes a spirit of geniality and cordial fellow-feeling between acquaintances and tribe-fellows and prospective relatives.

Jhīlimīlī pokherā, jhākāmākā ompāe
Kerājhariā, Kāyār jhāriā,
Loreng jomeng dā uḍkōn ḍelking, Dewān, āmātegā.
Hōñ Sahiā! Ingkō āmātāegā,
Bārō jhareā terō ompāeyā dā uḍkōn ḍoring kaniā

[Translation.]

Having drunk of glistening tanks [and] sparkling streams,-
 Of Kerā-Jhariā, Kudā-Jhariā, Kāyār Jhariā streams,-
 Pure sweet water having drunk, to thee, Dewān, I've
come.

Sure, my friend, a bride from thee I shall take,
 Even though of twelve streams and thirteen rivers
water [I have to] drink.

(28). In the following song we hear how cordially the Khāriā extends his hospitality not only to his relatives and sworn friends, but to any and every tribe-fellow, even though he may be an utter stranger whom he has never seen or heard of:—

Ātuā mūdā? Ātuā sūdā?
Tāmā yoāpē johār telē,
Ohōl chōl nō ḍel ḍel, yō yō nō kōng kōng.
Ampētē johārtelē.

[Translation.]

Whence do you come? Where did you halt?
 Now that you are here we [welcome and] salute you.

9. The Khāriā's Love for Hunting.

*Kudā gōlāṅ bingōe bōṅgōe,
Gūḍlū gōlāṅ bingōe-bōṅgōe.
Āni Dādā, rē sikārō chōnā.
Dādā jōe āni nānārē sikārō chōnā.
Khājārtārtē kōṇḍej bung gō'tē;
Liṭiā tārtē, ḍāṅg-būṅg gō'tē,
Āni Nānā-rē sikārō chōnā.
Bhāiārē, āni Dādā rē, sikārō chōnā.*

[Translation.]

Sweet tastes the millet-beer,
Sweet tastes the *guḍḍu*-beer.
Let us, O brother, go a-hunting!
O Brother, O Sister, let us go a-hunting!
The deer that we may kill,—home on our axe-handle
we'll bring.
The little *Liṭiā* bird we may kill, on a long pole we
shall carry.

O Brother! O Sister! Let us go a-hunting—
Let us go a-hunting.

(30). *Bhāiyā tē remāgē rē Kōngher !*

Brindā kinirtē lāmlām ebōnā.

Brindā kinirtē līlā khājār,

Brindā kinirtē lāmlām ebōnā.

Līlā khājār tē tuiñyēsērē

Gogēsērē khājārtē, O' ūḍūngē.

[Translation]

Do thou! O friend. my younger brother call,

To go a-hunting in Brindā wood.

In Brinda ¹¹⁴ forest [roams] the spotted deer,

[Go we] To hunt the deer in Brindā wood.

Shoot, O, Brother, at the spotted deer ;

Carry the deer [on thy shoulders] and take it home.

(31). *Biru banāe bingāe bongōe,*

Beṛā bānāi tām̐pā tōmpē.

Keorā ānā Keorā!

Yeḍenānāng Keorā!

Dādā tārsij ingār jongōr,

Bhāiyā tārsi bhāsā bhāsūr

Ānā Keorā yeḍenānāng, Keorā.

[Translation.]

The bear of the hill with shaggy hair,

The puny little bear of the valley!

My Keorā-friend, O my Keorā dear!

Let us, [go,] see and return, O my Keorā!

114. It is interesting to note that some Khāriās would identify "Brindā" in this and some other songs with "Brindāban" (in U. P.) associated with the life-history of Sri Krishna, the Hindu avatāra or man-God.

Brother has slain it,—[it's] all red with gushing blood.
 Brother's arrow gored it through and through.
 Let us, my Keorā, [go,] see it and return.

10. The Khārīā's Love for Friends.

We have seen (pp. 161-2 *ante*) that besides blood-relationship and relationship by marriage, Khārīā society has utilised the natural attraction of congenial souls, particularly among young people, to each other, in devising or adopting new bonds of sanctified relationship in the shape of different forms of ceremonial friendship, such as 'Keorā', 'Gulāiñchi', 'Karam-dāir' 'Jitiā-dāir', 'Goi', 'Iār', 'Mitā', 'Sahiā', and the like, calculated to strengthen **social solidarity**. The attachment between these sworn friends are often very strong and deep and generally endure for life, though the old bond may have to be ceremonially renewed from time to time and new bonds of friendship may be contracted.

(32). The following song which briefly refers to the mode of contracting such friendship, hints at its sanctity, and testifies to the intimacy of the relationship.

*Sahiā re Sahiā! Gōdjhungtē kāyom kathā,
 Kāyār dahurā bong Sahiā jorāyōnāng.
 Kāyār dahurā bōng Sahiā jōrāyōnāng.
 Khoēñchā tē ompeng, loṭā tē dā,
 Kāyār dahurā bōng, Sahiā jorāyōnāng,
 Sundarbo jhentutē dokonā, Sahiā!
 Kosū rāngā kāyom-kathānāng,*

[Translation.]

Sahiā, O Sahiā! On the road, we talked [agreed to be
Sahiās].

With leaves of the mango, in *Sahiā* bond we joined.
 With leaves of the mango, *Sahiās* we made.
 With flattened rice in waist-cloth, with water in the pot,
 With leaves of the mango, *Sahiās* we made.

[Now,] In comfort, O Sahiā sit thee down on the mat,
Relate we our tales of ills and woes [since last we met].

(33). The following song, too, illustrates the close fellowship that exists between *Sahīā* friends, and the brotherly concern of the one for the other who is about to return home from a visit to his *Sahīā*.

Sahīā dirōmbō chonām!

Sahīā, O! Ikūd dīsā!

Sahīā, dirōmbō chōnām!

Belō'ki jhentu, Sahiā; pālank belō'ki rē!

Sahiā, dirombō chōnām! Sahiā, O! Ikūd̄ d̄isā!

Sahiā dirōmbō chōnām!

Dōkōnā Sahiyā, Kōsū-rāṅga ūtūnē,

Sahīā, dirombō chōnām!

Sahia! O ikūd ḍisā, Sahiā, dirōmbō chōrām!

[Translation.]

O Sahiā! With slow and tardy steps proceed,

O Sahiā! [for,] distant is thy home.

O Sahiā, with slow and tardy steps proceed.

I've spread out the mat, O Sahiā, [for thee]

I've spread out the bed.

[When you go,] O Sahiā, with slow and tardy steps return.

Far-off is thy home, O Sahiā!

With slow and tardy steps return.

[Meanwhile] Sit down, O Sahiā, tidings of

[weal and] woe relate.

ॐ Sahiā, with slow and tardy steps return.

For distant is thy home, O Sahiā!
With slow and tardy steps return.

11. The Khārīa's Love of his Mother-land.

(34). The two following are among the songs that preserve the memory of the tribe's traditional ancient home in the Gangetic valley and subsequent migration to and colonisation of what is now Chōtā-Nāgpur, locally called 'Nāgpur'. Such songs bespeak the Khārīa's love for his mother-land which may, with the progress of culture, develop into healthy patriotism.

Ātū tāi ārēkimrē, Āpā?
Samundar pārō, Gṃgāpārō kimgā, Āpā.
Berā gāmnā, berā bujhāenā,
Bērā jō ūm oṇḍōrōb.
Āpā, Nāgpūrtē thāni-ḷokokimgā, Āpā.

[Translation.]

From where did you come, Father?
From beyond the sea—the Ganges—you came.
Others' exhortations, others' dissuasion,
Others' counsel you heeded not.
Father, in Nāgpur you settled, O Father!

(35). From about 1667 A. D. down to 1867 A. D., Pālkōṭ was the seat of the then Chōṭa Nagpur chief, and was naturally the principal town till British Government was firmly established and Rānchi became the seat of that Government in 1834. The name of the 'town' is claimed by the Khārīa to have been derived from the Khārīa words 'Pālkō' (=cave) and 'ḷā' (=water), as there is a spring of crystal water issuing from something like

a cave in a rock near 'Pālkōṭ-town' which is now a mere village. The following song is sung in praise of the sweet and clear water of that spring. The Rājā, it is said, had once gone to a village called Getuberā where such water was not available, and consequently his followers asked the Rājā to return to Pālkōṭ which was noted for its sweet spring-water; and the Rājā did so. The following song commemorates that incident. ¹¹⁵

Koilo sitiltē, Rājā, Getuberā!

Ātū kuiyem Rājā lorengḍā.

Engnā engnā Rājā Paillkoṭā;

Paillkoṭā sahartē Rājā lorengḍā.

Rājā Paillkoṭā engtā,

Paillkoṭā sahartē lorengḍā yote.

[Translation.]

"On the bank of the Koel, O Rājā, lies Getuberā.

Where will you get [there], O Rājā, water pure and
sweet?

Return, return, O Rājā to [thine own] Pālkōṭ!

In Pālkōṭ town, O Rājā is water, pure and sweet."

Back to Pālkōṭ the Rājā returns,

In Pālkōṭ town, finds water pure and sweet.

(36). In the following song, we hear the parents of a Khārīā boy recounting to their son the traditional migrations of the tribe; and the son, with a strong love of his mother-land, declares that 'Nāgpūr' or Chōṭā-Nāgpur is *as precious to him as diamond*.

115. It may be noted that both the Mūṇḍās and the Oṛāons claim the place as having been founded by them. The Mūṇḍās derive the name from the Mūṇḍāri word 'pahal' meaning, ploughshare; and the Oṛāons from the Oṛāon word 'pāl', a tooth.

Atū-tāe ānjōrnōm mūgomnōm hoiki rē!
Ātū-tāe jōrmē-thāñrō, hōhōrē Khāriā kūṇḍū!
Delhi-Pāṭenā-tāe āmpāti-sampāti hoekimrē,
Khāriā kūṇḍū!
Nāgpur jōrmē-thāñrō, hōhōrē Khāriā kūṇḍū!
Mā āpā hirā-lekhē Nāgāpūr, kūṇḍūi nōmtē.
Hirā-lekhē Nāgāpūr, kūṇḍūi nōmtē!

[Translation.]

"Where was thy origin, where thy subsequent home?
 And where's thy present habitat, O thou Khāriā's son?
 Wide lands and possessions thou in Delhi-Pāṭnā did'st
own.

Nāgpur is thy birth-place, O Khāriā's son!"
 "Oh, my Parents! [precious] like diamond
Is Nāgpur to your son!
 Like diamond is Nāgpur to your son!"

12. Religiousness of the Khāriās

(37). The following is one of the few songs in which we hear the Khāriā poet philosophising on the impermanence of earthly existence, and the need for leading a God-fearing life. The human soul in its mould of clay is in this song likened to a parrot confined temporarily in a cage.

Ko'lē lekheñ rē jiyōm,
Lō'khā' pinjirā tē lisōy lōsōy;
Lō'khā' pinjirā tē lisōy lōsōy.
Āmtē chonāhoinā rē jiyōm,
Lō'khā' pinjirā tē lisōy lōsōy,
Lō'khā' pinjirā tē lisōy lōsōy.
O' duwār jhāri khurjitē melāyem ;

*Lō'khā pinjirā tē lisōy lōsōy ;
 Lō'khā' pinjirā tē lisōy lōsōy.
 Pōnōmōsōrtē māneye Deōtā tē sumguḷē
 Rājā mānekōm Deōtāte johārē.*

[Translation.]

Like unto a parrot art thou, my soul!
 Softly moving in thy earthly cage;
 Gently moving in thy earthly cage.
 [Some day,] Thou, O Soul, must go away,
 [Though now] Thou movest gracefully in thy earthly
 cage;

Gently movest in thy earthly cage!
 House and possessions all thou shalt leave behind,
 [Though now] Thou movest softly in thy earthly cage,
 Movest gently in thy earthly cage.
 So adore thy God and give the spirits sacrifices due ;
 God as Ruler Supreme revere, and to the spirits in sub-
 mission bow.

We have given above a summary account of Khārīā dances, and cited a few random specimens from the large store of simple songs which cheer the toil-worn sons and daughters of the Khārīās in the evenings during respite from daily work, and for days and nights together on occasions of their principal periodical festivals. Though there is but little art in these songs, there is genuine feeling; though the outer expression is halting and faulty, the inner emotion is strong and sound. Song, dance and music are usually combined to re-inforce one another and conjointly give vent to the depth of the Khārīā's feelings to which one of these alone could not give adequate utterance. Truth of

sentiment and depth of feeling struggle out into crude expression through inadequacy and occasional obscurity of language and ungainliness of verse and, what cultured people might call, occasional faults of taste.

Joyous appreciation of beauty in nature and in man; tender sympathy towards the pretty birds and fishes in the woods and streams of his native land; the strong natural affection of parents for children and of brothers and sisters for one another; the deep attachment of married girls to their parents; the delights and disappointments of youthful lovers; the hilarious excitement of the chase; the joys and anxieties attending labour in the fields; a fear of the spectre of drought and famine and of the occasional dangers on land and water that the Khāriā has to face; geniality and exuberance of heart at meeting and welcoming relatives, friends and tribe-fellows; love for their homeland and a pride in the tribe's traditional past; a sense of child-like dependance on God and the Spirits;—these, as we have seen, are among the principal themes of the Khāriā's songs, and reveal a warm heart, eye for the beautiful in Nature and in Man, and some ardour of imagination. His songs would appear to indicate that even "through dusty lane and wrangling mart", the Khāriā, too, "carries, music in his heart". The **key-note** of his music—the fundamental underlying tone of the chord of the Khāriā's life in society—would, in its ultimate analysis, appear to be a yearning, more or less sub-conscious, for a fuller life through harmony and union with nature and with man and with the spiritual world.

CHAPTER XVI.

Conclusion : General View of Khārīā Life and Manners .

We have now finished our rough and imperfect sketch of the life and manners of the Khārīā tribe as a whole. The three divisions of the tribe might appear to represent approximately three successive levels of primitive culture in the Central Belt of India. Differences in geographical and social environment and political history in their respective past and present habitats would appear to be mainly responsible for the existing differences in their cultural progress, although there appears to be hardly any difference in mental capacity and in the processes of thought. The difference in culture between the three sections is not a difference of kind but only one of degree, as indeed is also the case with regard to the wide cultural differences that mark off primitive societies from civilized societies in general. It is, as we have said, environment in its most comprehensive sense,, comprising both natural and social or cultural *milieu*, education and upbringing, and conditions or opportunities for growth, and contact within the tribe and outside it, to which might, we think, be ultimately traced differences in culture and in those basic beliefs and categories of thought on which culture depends. Nowhere is this truth more manifest than in Chōṭā-Nāgpur where, thanks to the spread of education and the effects of the Christian Missions,

Ōraon, Mūṇḍa and Khāṛiā youths are fast entering the lists of competition in our schools and colleges with Hindu children who have generations of culture behind them.

Though the Khāṛiās, in general, are now a more or less exclusive people, it is not improbable that in the course of the long period of their contact, in the ancient past, with their Hindu neighbours of the Gangetic Valley (to which some of their traditions and tribal songs, as we have seen, refer), some slight racial miscegenation of the ancestors of our Dūdh Khāṛiās with those of their more civilised neighbours might have occurred so as to give that section of the tribe slightly finer features and perhaps a little greater aptitude for progress than the other sections. It will be remembered that the Dūdh Khāṛiās were the last section of the tribe to leave their ancient home in the Gangetic Valley. The anthropometric data given in chapter IV (*ante*), it may be noted, show 39 *per cent* of mesorrhines in the Dūdh section as against only 23 *per cent* among the Dhelkis, and, curiously enough, 27 *per cent* among the Hill Khāṛiās. The average nasal index of the Dūdh Khāṛiās is again somewhat smaller than that of the other sections. As regards the standard "dolicho-hypsoplatyrrhine" Australoid type, it will be seen that whereas the percentage of this type among the Hill Khāṛiās is about 36., and among the Dhelki 35, among the Dūdh it goes down to 29. Although these differences are not very remarkable, they may not be altogether without significance. The individual types of each of the three sections figured in the illustrations to this book would appear to testify to the comparatively finer appearance (or, in any case, finer expression of the

face) of the Dūdḥ Khāriās. However that may be, in cultural progress, the Dḥelki Khāriās stand fairly ahead of the Hill Khāriās; and the Dūdḥ Khāriās now stand very much further ahead.

The Hill Khāriās — We have seen how the pressure of comparatively more organised and advanced communities drove the Hill Khāriās in the remote past into jungles and hills. And they have since been confined within jungle areas incapable of supporting a large population on natural food, upon which they have so long mainly depended. The rigours of their hard life have further helped to keep down their population. Mortality amongst their adult population through attacks of wild beasts and reptiles, as well as infant mortality through malaria and other ailments, appear to be higher among the Hill Khāriās than among the other sections of the tribe. Their birth-rate, too, would appear to be lower, although no reliable statistics are available.

Forced into comparative isolation by their geographical environment and having for long centuries had very little intercourse or communication with more civilised tribes and castes or even with other sections of their own tribe or sub-tribe, and with all their energies absorbed in solving the food problem, the Hill Khāriās have necessarily remained for untold centuries almost stagnant at the same primitive level of economic, social, and intellectual culture. Their tools and implements, as we have seen, are few, their dwellings miserable, their dress and ornaments scanty, and their food-supply inadequate and precarious. In social organisation and in religious ideas, as in arts and crafts,

they are the most unprogressive section of the Khārīā tribe. Circumstanced as they are, they are naturally very timid and suspicious of strangers. Families and individuals hunt together and roam together to collect jungle produce. The spoils of hunting are often shared out.

Although owing to the need for collaboration to procure food by hunting, and for protection against common dangers, a few families band together and occupy a definite area, yet such limited aggregation, constituting, as it does, the physical foundation of Hill Khārīā society, does not appear to have developed such an intimate and abiding psychic union as might produce solidarity and stability in their association, and prevent individuals and families from easily leaving one local group and joining another. Thus **social cohesion** is rather loose. Totemic clan organisation, which might have once existed and combined a number of kins together into an extended kin, has practically disappeared among the Hill Khārīās of Mayurbhañj which is the principal centre of this section of the tribe.

The adverse conditions of life in their harsh environment account for their low **ideal of life**. That ideal is, first and foremost, the satisfaction of their primary physical needs and appetites, and the security of life against the attacks of visible and invisible foes, and next, the satisfaction, so far as possible, of such primary affections as parental love. Fear is the dominant element in their religious complex. Even, the rude Hill Khārīā, however, has not altogether escaped the influence of popular Hindu religious ideas, as may be judged from the names of a few of his deities. That **Hindu influence** must have been more potent at one time might be

inferred from his adoption of the Āryan tongue of his Hindu neighbours, as also from a few of his customs. These loan-elements, however, have been very much attenuated and debased in the process of borrowing and acculturation, and in some cases have remained as mere unattached appanages which have not succeeded in forming an integral part of Hill Khāriā culture.

As between different Hill Khāriā families, there is little differentiation of social and economic function, much less any **social stratification**. Barring the recognition of the authority of the village-elders and the *Gādi* assembly as expounders and administrators of tribal custom and law in social and religious matters, each family is a law unto itself. And even the verdicts and sentences of these authorities are not always accepted. In the latter contingency, the rebel family or individual generally leaves the settlement and joins some other distant settlement. Hill Khāriā society furnishes an instance of long-arrested cultural development.

Dūdh and Dhelki Khāriās.—With a more favourable climate and soil in the valleys of the Koel, the Sankh and the Ib, and better command over their food-supply, the Dūdh and Dhelki sections, who are mainly settled agriculturists, have naturally attained a better economic condition. And as between these two, the Dūdh Khāriās who generally hold extensive lands and practise terrace cultivation are comparatively better off than the Dhelkis, many of whom still take to the wasteful method of cultivation by the *jhūm* process. Both these sections are naturally much above the economic level of the Hill Khāriās. And better economic organisation and co-operation and more permanent association in

local groups have helped these sections, particularly the Dūdh, to maintain a steady economic and social progress. The economic system of communal labour facilitates the *jhūm* operations of the Dhelki Khāriā and the reclamation of waste lands by the Dūdh Khāriā.

The Dūdh Khāriās, with their terrace-cultivation of low-lying fields, have secured greater abundance of food and greater leisure. This has enabled them to acquire more arts and crafts than the other sections of the tribe. The Dūdh Khāriās, unlike the other sections of the tribe, have evolved some **distinctions of rank** on an economic basis. As in Mūṇḍā and Ūrāon society, so, too, in Khāriā society, the Bhuiñhārs or descendants of the original founders of their villages and the Jeth-rāiyats or comparatively early settlers are accorded positions of greater respect than the common people or "*Projās*" (ordinary rāiyats) who came later. But this distinction of rank on an economic basis does not prevent intermarriage or **equality in purely social relations**.

Both the Dhelki and the Dūdh sections, and particularly the latter, have, as we have seen, evolved tribal associations larger and more stable than the Village-Pañchāyats and the loose occasional gatherings or *Bhīrās* of the Hill Khāriās. The *Gādi* or inter-village organisation of the Dhelki Khāriās and the *Pārḥā Pañchāyat* or *Kūṭumb Sabhā* of the Dūdh section exhibit a wider and closer and more permanent combination and a more intimate union of souls. In this matter, too, Dūdh Khāriā society has advanced a stage higher than Dhelki society. Unlike the Hill Khāriās, both the Dhelki and the Dūdh sections recognise a distinction of social rank among the different clans and, as we have

seen, the President or head-man of the tribal assembly (*Gādi* or *Pārḥā* or *Kūṭumb Sabhā*, as the case may be) and his Assistant must belong to specified clans. An inter-village tribal assembly of the Dḥelki Khāriās has, however, no standing executive body or Pañchāyat nor permanent office-bearers. But such an assembly among the Dūdh Khāriās has now generally a permanent Pañchāyat and a permanent headman called *Karṭāhā* whose post is now tending to become, and in some *Pārḥās* has actually become, hereditary. It is the strength and cohesion of these inter-village federations that enabled Dūdh Khāriā society to weather the gravest social and political storms in the past (and latterly agrarian troubles), and to maintain their **tribal** and **social integrity** more or less unimpaired to this day. They now form one of the most prolific and progressive aboriginal communities in Chōtā-Nāgpur. On a few occasions of apprehended danger to their tribal interests, a number of Dūdh Khāriā *Pārḥā*-federations have been known in the past to have come together for joint deliberations and joint action. The habit of co-operation and the strong-knit discipline of village brotherhood and *Pārḥā* brotherhood, serve to keep alive in the mind of each member of a Dūdh Khāriā *Pārḥā* a feeling of **tribal unity** and **solidarity** that transcends and subordinates the family sentiment and the village-community or parochial sentiment.

Over and above the involuntary social groupings of the **Family**, the **Clan**, and the **Tribe**, and groupings, more or less voluntary in origin, of the **Village-community** and **Pārḥā-federation**, the younger generation of Dūdh Khāriās have organised and are organising, for purposes

of education and social and economic amelioration, voluntary societies or **sabhās** with definite rules and regulations prescribing the duties and privileges attaching to membership. Among *sabhās*, exclusively of Christian converts, the Catholic *sabhās* appear to be the most active and well-organised. The principal non-denominational association of this kind composed of both Christians and non-Christians, is styled the "*Khārīā Unnāti Samāj*" ("Khārīā Improvement Society"). At its periodical meetings, some Khārīās, even from the adjoining areas of the Central Provinces State of Jāshpur and the Ōrissā State of Gāngpur, sometimes attend. A large number of Dūdh Khārīās are also members of a still wider organisation of the same non-denominational kind which counts hundreds of Ōrāoṇs, Muṇḍās and Khārīās, Christian as well as non-Christian, among its members, and whose annual meetings are sometimes attended even by representatives of the Hōs of the Singbhum District and some aborigines of the Palāmau District. This society, which is the premier aboriginal Association in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, is known as "The Chōṭā-Nāgpur Improvement Society" (*Chōṭā-Nāgpur Unnāti Samāj*). A small deputation consisting of a few educated aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur from this society represented, in 1929, the case of the aborigines for political reforms before the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the "Simon Commission", and included a Khārīā.

We have referred to the influence of certain Hindu ideas on Khārīā society. The Dūdh Khārīās have for long been in closer contact with their Hindu neighbours than the other sections of the tribe. Leaving aside the question of such contact (perhaps much closer

in the ancient past before they had settled down in Chōṭā Nāgpur), intercourse with the Hindus has been maintained since their migration to their present habitat. Close business relations have existed between Hindu landlords and money-lenders on the one hand and, on the other hand, the Dūdh Khāriās most of whom are their tenants and many their debtors. Trade relations between the Khāriās and the Hindus exist to some extent. It is mostly to their Hindu neighbours that they sell the surplus produce of their fields, and it is from petty Hindu traders that they have to purchase various articles of ordinary use, such as salt and kerosine oil, looking-glasses and metal jewellery, cloth umbrellas and hurricane lanterns. Some of the *Mātis* (Khāriā, *Dēoñṛās*) or spirit-doctors, whose services the Khāriās have not infrequently to requisition, are also lower class Hindus. Again, for some years past, a fair number of Dūdh Khāriā young men have been and are being brought into prolonged and close personal contact with their Hindu compeers in schools and colleges and their hostels. In these circumstances, some ideas and cultural traits of their Hindu neighbours which fit into their own culture and are consistent with their own traditions and ideas and their own line of development, are being gradually adopted and assimilated as integral parts of Khāriā culture. Thus, to take one instance, the taboo on cow-killing and beef-eating which is now strictly observed by the main body of the Dūdh Khāriās, would appear to have been borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. But as an agricultural community which requires cows and bullocks for ploughing and threshing operations, the Dūdh Khāriās have always regarded the ox and the cow with affection and religious res-

pect. And the reverence for cows and worship of cattle which they found among their Hindu neighbours naturally appealed to them, as it coincided with their own line of thought and feeling. ¹¹⁵ And thus the taboo against killing or otherwise causing the death of a cow, calf, or bull was adopted presumably from the Hindus. In fact, propitiation of the Spirits of the cattle-shed (*Dimtāng sung*) appears to have been an ancient institution with the Dūd̄h and D̄hel-ki Khārīās (pp. 380-383 *ante*); and the Hill Khārīās, too, have their corresponding ceremony of *Gohāl Pūja* or "Cattle-shed sacrifices" (p. 345 *ante*). But the Dūd̄h Khārīās have added the worship of the cattle themselves (*Bandāi*, corresponding to the *Sohorāi* of some Hindu castes), evidently in imitation of the Hindus. This is indicated not only by the Hindu name of the festival but by the fact that the Khārīā worshipper of the cow imitates the Hindu priest in wearing round his neck, at the time of the *Bandāi Pūjā*, a "sacred cord", though not made of thread like the present-day Brāhmaṇ's *janeu* or *paitā* ¹¹⁶ but of grass. The sanctity attached to the bovine species and leading to the worship of cattle has long become such an integral part of Khārīā culture that the Dūd̄h Khārīās now claim it as one of their original indigenous ideas and practices. Thus, they assert that Pōnōmōsōr or

115. The Dūd̄h Khārīās also observe a taboo against blowing the bellows of a blacksmith. Even standing over them by a married person or a girl of marriageable age is regarded as a "sin". But this taboo is probably due to the fact that a 'Lohār' or blacksmith is regarded as an 'untouchable' caste, and not directly to the fact that the Lohār's bellows are made of cattle-hide. A superstitious fear of iron,—the latest known of the principal metals,—is probably responsible for this taboo as also for the 'taboo' against the untouchability of the originally iron-smelting community of *Lohrās* or black-smiths.

116. There is literary evidence to indicate that the Brāhmaṇ's 'sacred thread' was formerly made of other material (probably animal-skin).

Sākhi Gosāiṇyā (God) Himself taught the first human pair how to construct the plough, weave ropes and carrying-nets, and make carrying-poles, and ordered them to keep oxen and cows to work for them. He is said to have further instructed them to reverence cows and bulls and to abstain from sacrificing or killing or injuring or eating them, and directed the human pair to sacrifice pigs, goats and fowls to the gods and spirits, and employ cows and bulls for ploughing and threshing.

Another legend ¹¹⁷ recounted to us runs as follows:—*Khorā Bāghā* was the first man to domesticate cattle. He constructed, on an area of 24 miles square, an enclosure for cattle, and into this he lured wild cows, oxen and buffaloes by the enchanting music of his flute, and tamed them. He gave them boiled rice and *ūriḍ* pulse with salt to eat, washed their feet with rice-beer and anointed their forehead, horns, and limbs with vermillion (*sūndrōm*), and sprinkled rice-water on them. Thus were the cattle domesticated and sacralised. Thenceforward religious homage has been paid to cows and oxen, and taboos have been ordained against eating, killing or injuring them, and against admission into the *Khāriā's* cattle-shed of strangers, or men of other clans, and women not belonging to the family and even married daughters of the family. Obviously such myths were

117. *Birsā Khāriā* (Pāhān) of village Hūṭūbdū gave this account. Note the similarity of this legend with that given at pp. 425-417 *ante*. It may be noted that the spirits of *Khōrā Māhrā* and *Bāghā Māhrā* are invoked at the *Bandāi* festival (see p. 377 *ante*). *Māhrā* means 'herdsman', and it is generally believed that these were the *Āhīr* cowherds of the *Khāriās* when they lived in the valley of the Ganges. But in this legend the names 'Khora' and 'Bāgha' are combined into one and represented as a single individual *Khāriā* of the days of tradition.

invented to explain the rites and customs that had in course of time grown up in respect of cattle.

The Dūdh Khārīā's ideas of **ceremonial purity**, though originating, more or less, in primitive ideas of 'mana' or 'taboo-holiness' and in the fear of aliens and alien-spirits, would appear to have been, to some extent, strengthened and augmented through the influence of certain Hindu ideas and practices coincident in external features with their own. We have referred to the influence of popular Hindu religion on the Khārīā's religious system. Under the **influence of Hindu ideas**, the cruder features of the Khārīā's primitive faith would appear to have been to some extent modified, and his old idea of spirits as wholly maleficent has been partially replaced by the new conception of spirits both beneficent as well as maleficent. The Hindu ideal of the spirit of *bhakti* or love and devotion to the Deity has attracted a handful of Dūdh Khārīās to the *Bhagat* movement (which represents a rude form of the *Bhakti* ideal). A few have also adopted the Kabir Panthi form of the *Bhagat* movement.¹¹⁸ Again, partly through dissatisfaction with their tribal spirits who proved powerless to protect or safeguard their landed interests, and partly through hopes of improving their economic condition, and in a few cases through persecution of their tribe-fellows who might have suspected them to be witches or sorcerers, and in still fewer cases perhaps from a genuine desire to live a higher life, a very large number of Dūdh Khārīās accepted Christianity.

With regard to mass conversions to Christianity among the Khārīās and other aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur

118. For the *Bhagat* movement and other new religious movements among the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, reference may be made to Chapter VI of S. C. Roy's *Orōñ Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928).

we may quote the following observations made by us elsewhere:—¹¹⁹“There is something in the atmosphere of India which makes its people—of every caste and tribe—turn to religion in times of distress. And the acute agrarian discontent of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur at the spoliation of their ancient rights [in land] took the form of religious reforms. The faith in the old gods was shaken. In the case of the stubborn and proud tribe of the Mūṇḍās, the reform took the form of a militant monotheistic creed propagated by a young Mūṇḍā named Birsā... The discontent and disappointment of the naturally joyous and peace-loving tribe of Ōrāons took the form of a religious movement known as the Tānā-Bhagat movement... The Khāriās, who are neither as sullen and haughty by nature as the Mūṇḍās nor so joyous and sociable as the Ōrāons, but are a sober and cheerful, and, on the whole, quite a nice and agreeable people, took a matter-of-fact view of things. They sought to adapt themselves as best as they might to the changed conditions under which they had to live. A section of them crossed over to the neighbouring Feudatory States of Gāngpur and Jāshpur where large tracts of unoccupied land was available for cultivation. And when the Christian missionaries appeared in the country, a large number of Khāriās still left behind in the Rānchi District and, later, many of those who had migrated to the States, along with a large number of Mūṇḍās and Ōrāons, turned to the Christian faith, as others still continue to do. This they did, in most cases, in the hope of securing relief

119. S. C. Roy, “*The Effects on the Aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation*”, in the *Journal of the Bihār and Orissā Research Society*, 1931, pp. 376-371.



43. Catholic Christian Khāriā Boys at College.



44. Catholic Christian Khāriā Boys at School.

(To face p. 524)



45. Dūdh Khāriā Catholic Priest
(Rev. Father Marcus Tegetehin.)



46. Dūdh Khāriā Lutheran
Priest (Rev. Samuel Bāgē.)

(To face p. 525)

from their agrarian troubles and the oppressions and exactions of their landlords and usurious money-lenders, and, in a few cases, of securing protection from the attentions of evil spirits or from persecution of their tribe-fellows on account of suspicion of witch-craft."

We have referred in the opening chapter ¹²⁰ to the influence of Christianity on the converts as well as on the unconverted among the Khārīās. Whatever might have been the original incentive to conversion, there can be no question that the activities of the Christian missions in furthering the economic, sanitary and, particularly educational, progress of the Khārīās have considerably helped their cultural advancement and have indirectly benefitted the unconverted Khārīās as well.

Thanks to the increasing spread of education among the Khārīās (mostly the Dūdh Khārīās), we have now evidence to show that the reason why they so long lagged behind their more civilised neighbours in culture, is not any inherent inferiority in mental capacity but only the lack of adequate facilities and opportunities, and an uncongenial social environment. Though, as in every other community, there is variety in mentality and differences in capabilities as between individual members of the Khārīā tribe, their intelligence and mental powers cannot be said to be distinctly inferior to those of more civilised communities. Their intelligence had so long but a narrow scope for its activities, and so their achievement has so far been insignificant and meagre. But inquiries in the schools and colleges where young Dūdh Khārīās are prosecuting their studies show, and our close personal acquaintance with many of

120. pp. 10-12 *ante*.

them confirms the report, that in aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge and in due respect for the precepts of morality, the average Dūdh Khāriā is not inferior to the average Hindu or Muhammadan young man; and a few of them—although yet very few—are distinctly brighter and keener. The educational facilities that are now being provided mostly by the Government and the Christian Missions, (and very much more facilities are still needed,) are removing a main handicap to the future progress of the tribe. The growth of a broader outlook on life and of a common sentiment of unity is in evidence. Some Christian and Non-Christian Khāriā young men are sinking their differences in the common cause of social advance and are seeking to weld their tribe-fellows into a closer **solidarity**.

The present improvement and increasing upward trend in the cultural evolution of the Dūdh Khāriā would appear to be the result of contact with higher culture—Hindu and Christian,—and the gradual improvement in his social environment, and widened opportunities. The Dhelki Khāriās, too, and even some sections of the Hill Khāriās, are not altogether stagnant. They, too, appear to have been gradually modifying their customs and ways of life for the better; but the rate of growth is extremely slow. Although the small stray bands of Hill Khāriās living uncared-for in the Mānbhūm and Singhbhūm hills may, in time, get extinct or merge in one or more neighbouring tribe or tribes, the more compact Hill Khāriā population in the Mayurbhañj State who fully retain their tribal consciousness and maintain to some extent their **tribal solidarity** are making faint attempts to survive and to advance in culture, however slow and tardy the earlier steps in their progress may be.



47. Dūdh Khāriā in training for the
ministry. (Mr. Pius Kerkettā.)



48. Dūdh Khāriā Teacher (Babu
Patras Dūngdūng.)

(To face p. 526)

Estimate of the Khārīā's Character.— When we compare their character with that of the other two principal tribes—the Mūṇḍās and the Ōrāoṇs—of Chōṭā-Nāgpur proper, the Khārīās certainly do not suffer in any way by the comparison. The Khārīā is not as reserved as his Mūṇḍā kinsman, but is about as candid and open as his Ōrāoṇ neighbour. In fact, the Khārīā tribe would appear to represent the golden mean. Though cheerful in disposition and genial in temperament and, on occasions, gay and jolly, the Khārīā is in general less light-hearted and easy-going but more restrained, sober and serious than the average Ōrāoṇ. Yet he is not sombre and unsocial, nor proud and uncommunicative before strangers as the average Mūṇḍā appears to be. Though ordinarily peace-loving, gentle and docile, and respectful and obedient to authority and fairly steady and amenable to discipline, the Khārīā has a fairly strong will. In matters on which he has set his heart or in which he believes justice and right to be on his side, he is generally firm and unyielding. But he is not as unreasonably obstinate and inexorable as the Mūṇḍā often is, nor as pliant and easy-going as most Ōrāoṇs appear to be. Like most primitive tribes, the Khārīā is very honest, simple and guileless, but generally improvident. Though rather indolent by nature like the Mūṇḍā, he is most assiduous and hard-working in his agricultural operations. The Khārīās in general exhibit a certain delicacy of feeling and are capable of gratitude and affectionate devotion and loyalty even to aliens whom they may see reasons to regard as real friends.

Though the Khārīā resembles the Ōrāoṇ in being more matter-of-fact and practical than the Mūṇḍā, he is

not inferior to the Mūṇḍā in imagination, and possesses a modicum of idealism. In fact, Khāriā songs in their primitive simplicity and charm, and in their depth of feeling come up to the level of the Mūṇḍā's songs and would appear to compare favourably with the Ōrāṇ's songs. In the observance of the rules of the tribal code of morality, the average Khāriā would appear to be more strict than the average Mūṇḍā or Ōrāṇ. Except when living in association with other tribes and castes, the Dūdh Khāriās appear also to be more cleanly in their habits than most other tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. Like most primitive tribes, the Khāriās are remarkably capable of combination and union. Though self-respecting to a degree, the Khāriā cannot be accused of inordinate tribal self-esteem with which non-Mūṇḍās charge the average Mūṇḍā. Though the Khāriā possesses a genuine love for his mother-land and a strong attachment for his own people, he can, without compromising his self-respect, adapt himself better to changed social, political and agrarian conditions than his stubborn and obstinate Mūṇḍā neighbours. In social and domestic virtues, the Khāriās do not yield the palm to any neighbouring tribe. Taken all in all, the Khāriā would appear to be one of the most loveable among the aboriginal tribes of India. Similar testimony to the Khāriā's character comes from the authors of the *Encyclopædia Mundarica* ¹²¹ (Rev. J. Hoffmann—a German, and Rev. A. Van Emelen—a Belgian) who write of the Khāriās,—“The fickleness of the Ōrāṇs and self-conceit of the Mundas, form no part of their character, and all the Missionaries who have come into familiar contact with them, acknowledge that their feel-

121. Vol. VIII, p. 2333.

ings are more refined and nearer to our own standard".

It is interesting to note that some Europeans who have intimately known the people compare the frank and open, light-hearted and gay, active and comparatively quick and easily impressionable, generous and somewhat vain Ōrāoñs to "Frenchmen"; the more serious and reflective, slow and steady, somewhat proud and obstinate Mūṇḍās to "Germans"; and the gentle and pleasant Khāṛiās, who combine in them some of the finer qualities of both and are liked by all for their qualities of the heart, to the "Belgians". Although this comparison of great things with small,—of the powerful civilised nations of the West with the poor aboriginal tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur just emerging from their age-long ignorance and supine torpidity,—may sound ludicrous, yet friends and well-wishers of the Khāṛiās may be inclined to take this comparison as prophetic of better times and a higher destiny for the tribe. Those who, like us, know the Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribes, appreciate their good qualities and rate their deficiencies at their proper value, and sympathise with their endeavours and aspirations for rising in the scale of civilisation, would fain believe that in these long-neglected younger brethren of Man in India, too, there are the **makings of a worthy people**. What they need most are suitable guidance and opportunities for development.

If, as we students of Man believe with the poet that——

"Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process
of the suns,"

we may reasonably expect that, in the long last, the progressive sections of the Khāriās may secure their place, however humble, in the future "Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."



APPENDIX I.

Physical Measurements and Statistical Calculations.

[Last of Abbreviations Used]

I. Face:—

Pent———Pentagonal;
Sq.———Square;
Ov.———Oval.

III. Lip:—

+——Tendency to be everted;
++———Everted;
———Not Everted.

II. Brow ridges:—

+——Slightly Prominent;
++——Prominent;
———Not Prominent;

IV. Forehead:—

+——Slightly Retreating;
++——Retreating;
———Straight;

Bul———Bulbous.

N. B. In Tables A, B and C Stature is given in Cms, and in others in m m.] In Tables I II and III all measurement are in m m

A. Hill Khāriās.

	Mean with Probable Error.	Standard Devia- tion with Pro- bable Error.	Variation with Probable Error
Stature	1 56. 10 \pm .42	5. 15 \pm .29	2. 309 \pm .172
Head Length	1 82. 87 .46	5. 73 .33	2. 193 .178
Head Breadth	1 36. 14 .35	4. 31 .25	2. 161 .176
Head Height	1 15. 73 .43	5. 37 .31	3. 248 .265
Least frontal br.	1 00. 23 .29	3. 57 .20	2. 493 .203
Bizygionial Br.	1 29. 61 .37	4. 60 .26	2. 484 .202
Bi-gonial Br.	90.99 .36	4. 43 .25	3. 415 .279
Super Fac. Lg.	65.84 .28	3. 50 .20	3 721 .304
Morpho Fac.lg.	1 06. 78 .66	8. 20 .47	5. 376 .441
Nasal Length.	44. 53 .25	3. 12 .18	4. 905 .402
Nasal Breadth	39. 14 .19	2. 30 .13	3. 858 .315
Cep. Index	74. 69 .17	2. 14 .12	2. 006 .164
Altitudinal In.	64. 34 .25	3. 07 .17	3. 340 .273
Nasal Index.	88. 64 .56	6. 91 .39	5. 118 .419
Facial „	82. 78 .42	5. 20 .30	4. 397 .359

B. Dhelki Khārīās

Stature in cms others in m. ms

	Mean with Probable Error	Standar Devia- tion with Pro- bable Error.	Variation with Probable Error
Stature	160. 79 \pm .36	5. 60 \pm .27	3. 48 \pm .17
Head Length	187. 16 .36	5. 65 .27	3. 02 .14
Head Breadth	136. 90 .29	4. 53 .22	3. 31 .16
Head Height.	116. 79 .41	6. 33 .30	5. 42 .12
Least Front Br.	101. 56 .21	3. 20 .15	3. 15 .15
Bi-zygomatic	129. 18 .32	4. 96 .24	3. 84 .18
Bigonial Br.	92. 82 .31	4. 77 .23	5. 14 .25
Sup. Facial Lg.	64. 55 .29	4. 56 .22	7. 06 .34
Morph Face Lg.	107. 50 .39	6. 05 .29	5. 63 .27
Nasal Length	45. 36 .20	3. 05 .14	6. 75 .32
Nasal Breadth	40. 25 .18	2. 81 .13	6. 98 .33
Cephatic Index	73. 16 .14	2. 23 .11	3. 05 .14
Altitudinal „	62. 33 .23	3. 64 .18	5. 84 .28
Nasal „	89. 22 .43	6. 65 .32	7. 45 .36
Facial „	83. 40 .31	4. 85 .23	5. 82 .28

C. Dudh Kharla.

Stature in cms and others in m. ms

	Mean with Probable Error	Standard Divia- tion with Pro- bable Error	Variation with Probable Error
Stature	1 60. 69 \pm .32	5. 16 \pm .25	3. 32 \pm .17
Head Length	1 86. 12 .35	5. 24 .25	2. 82 .14
Head Breadth	1 36. 94 .26	3. 81 .18	2. 78 .13
Head Height.	1 17. 00 .42	6. 18 .29	5. 28 .25
Least Front.Br.	1 01. 60 .20	2. 99 .14	2. 94 .24
Bizygomatic	1 30. 65 .25	3. 75 .18	2. 87 .14
Bigonial Br.	96. 00 .32	4. 74 .23	4. 94 .24
Super Fac. Lg,	62. 42 .25	3. 78 .18	6. 05 .29
Morpho Fac. Lg	90. 00 .56	8. 31 .40	7. 55 .36
Nasal length	46. 12 .23	3. 40 .16	7. 37 .35
Nasal Breadth	39. 86 .21	3. 05 .15	7. 65 .37
Cephalic Index	73. 67 .55	8. 09 .39	10. 98 .53
Alt. ,,	62. 86 .21	3. 27 .16	5. 20 .25
Nasal ,,	86. 81 .40	5. 95 .28	6. 85 .33
Facial ,,	84. 61 .28	4. 12 .20	4. 87 .23

Table I Hill Khārīās

No.	Village.	Name.	Stature.	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index.	Ceph. Index.
1.	Patharkūm	Sudarsan	1525	114	185	138	61.6	74.6
2.	"	Sankra	1553	121	191	142	63.4	74.4
3.	Kusumbandi	Pancha	1562	116	186	136	62.4	73.1
4.	"	Basu	1673	111	183	136	60.7	74.3
5.	"	Sanatan	1606	124	190	144	65.3	75.8
6.	"	Guna	1647	117	191	138	61.3	72.3
7.	"	Budhia	1537	111	177	132	69.7	74.6
8.	"	Benudhar	1596	110	172	131	63.9	76.2
9.	"	Nisa	1630	114	187	138	61.0	73.8
10.	"	Arjun	1608	116	186	145	62.4	78.0
11.	"	Adhijar	1545	114	185	135	61.6	73.0
12.	"	Agar	1586	121	188	136	64.4	72.3
13.	Rangamati	Kam	1506	113	185	141	61.1	76.2
14.	Kusumbandi	Kash Nayak	1532	122	184	138	66.3	75.0
15.	Rangamati	Barka Jauran- dha	1575	123	186	139	66.1	74.7
16.	"	Chaitan	1577	114	181	136	63.0	75.1
17.	"	Radhu	1532	115	184	134	62.5	72.8
18.	Chandpir	Sobra	1495	105	182	132	57.8	72.5
19.	Bangriposi	Mohan	1612	113	192	141	58.9	73.4
20.	Rajalbera	Dasarathi	1545	118	180	141	65.6	78.0

of Mayurbhanj

Least Frontal	Bi-Zygomatic	Bi-Gonial	Nasal Lt	Nasal Br	Nasal Index	Sup Facial Lt	Morph Facial	morph Facial Index	Head Circumference	Face	Browridge	Ev. Lip	Forehead
96	127	87	46	42	91'3	66	103	81'1	540	Ov	+	+	++
98	133	88	44	45	102'3	62	103	77'4	562	„	+	—	++
104	117	81	51	40	78'4	71	113	96'6	531	„	++	+	+
99	123	81	46	37	80'4	67	112	91'1	523	Pent	+	—	+
106	136	93	44	40	90'9	70	123	90'4	552	Oval	+	—	+
100	129	89	43	37	86'0	67	108	83'7	531	Sq	+	+	+
98	129	95	47	39	83'0	71	12'1	93'8	519	„	+	+	—
103	126	95	44	36	81'8	64	107	84'9	505	Pent	+	+	—
103	137	98	41	41	100'0	61	107	78'1	540	Ov	—	+	++
104	129	92	44	39	88'6	66	113	87'6	542	Sq	—	—	—
102	131	91	42	40	95'2	65	112	85'5	530	„	+	—	+
99	123	90	45	39	86'7	58	109	88'6	541	„	—	„	+
102	127	88	42	40	95'2	65	108	85'0	540	Pent	++	„	+
98	127	92	44	35	79'5	66	108	85'0	525	Ov	++	„	+
104	135	98	41	41	100'0	65	105	77'8	556	„	+	+	+
101	132	89	43	41	95'3	70	107	81'1	541	„	+	—	—
108	129	88	42	41	97'6	65	109	84'5	530	Sq	—	—	—
93	126	86	42	37	88'1	63	102	81'0	521	Pent	—	—	+
101	141	85	46	45	97'8	68	107	75'9	542	Ov	—	+	++
104	135	88	43	38	88'4	67	110	81'5	530	„	+	+	++

Table I

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht	Head Lt	Head Br	Alt Index	Ceph Index
21.	"	Sukrat	1594	121	188	139	64'4	73'9
22.	"	Dasora	1638	125	182	137	68'7	75'3
23.	"	Kanu	1491	111	179	128	62'0	71'5
24.	"	Dasa	1557	117	176	127	66'5	72'2
25.	Rajalbera	Nudu Nayak	1554	11	190	144	62'1	75'8
26.	"	Hurad	1507	126	173	130	72'8	75'2
27.	"	Chandra	1534	123	180	129	68'3	71'7
28.	"	Padan	1647	120	182	139	65'9	76'4
29.	"	Sugadhan	1487	129	175	134	73'1	76'6
30.	Purnapani	Dara Das	1502	114	185	135	61'6	73'0
31.	"	Sadu	1575	118	185	136	63'8	73'5
32.	"	Satru	1651	121	180	136	67'2	75'6
33.	"	Kisan	1495	114	172	130	66'2	75'6
34.	"	Janu	1555	112	179	131	61'4	73'2
35.	Sarsopal	Sadhi	1489	114	182	127	62'6	69'8
36.	"	Parsa	1540	115	177	132	64'9	74'6
37.	"	Niru	1530	114	181	137	63'0	75'7
38.	"	Nanda	1588	116	188	135	61'7	71'8
39.	"	Desa	1576	113	180	136	62'8	75'6
40.	"	Raja	1485	113	180	129	62'8	71'7
41.	"	Sankra	1565	118	194	146	60'8	75'3

Least Frontal	Bi-Zygomatic	Bi-gonial	Nasal Lt	Nasal Br	Nasal Index	Sup Facial Lt	Morph Facial	Morph Facial Index	Head Circumference	Face	Browridge	Ev. Lip	Forehead
103	134	94	48	42	87.5	72	118	88.1	537	Sq	+	++	—
95	133	92	45	41	91.1	65	107	80.5	532	„	++	+	++
96	124	85	46	35	76.1	64	106	85.5	518	Pnt	+	—	+
101	135	98	43	42	97.7	69	108	80.0	513	Sq	—	—	—
101	135	86	43	35	81.4	63	106	78.5	550	Ov	+	—	+
94	129	85	45	38	84.4	67	98	76.0	502	Sq	++	+	—
95	124	92	44	36	81.8	66	104	83.9	521	Ov	+	+	—
102	139	101	42	37	88.1	64	108	77.7	552	„	+	—	+
98	129	94	42	39	92.9	60	97	75.2	510	Pnt	+	++	+
98	128	85	45	40	88.9	65	101	78.9	542	Ov	—	—	+
101	132	84	47	41	87.2	70	113	85.6	527	„	—	++	—
102	130	90	38	38	100.0	64	108	83.1	530	Sq	+	+	+
95	128	93	42	41	97.6	61	100	78.1	515	Pnt	+	—	—
102	131	86	44	35	79.5	64	103	78.6	525	Ov	+	—	—
100	127	91	46	41	89.1	61	102	80.3	520	Sq	++	—	+
103	129	86	42	43	102.4	64	96	74.4	513	„	—	—	—
94	128	85	43	37	86.0	66	113	88.3	530	Pnt	+	—	—
98	125	91	46	38	82.6	67	101	80.8	527	Sq	+	—	+
102	127	90	41	42	102.4	63	103	81.1	550	Ov	+	+	+
101	127	85	39	36	92.3	55	92	72.4	515	„	+	+	++
105	121	86	46	41	89.1	68	102	84.3	560	„	—	+	—

Table I

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index	Ceph Index
42.	Kuataghai	Chandan	1543	117	175	140	66'8	80'0
43.	"	Rupa	1565	119	188	136	63'3	72'3
44.	"	Panu	1575	116	187	131	62'0	70'1
45.	Gurguria	Kesar	1550	114	179	135	62'5	75'4
46.	Katahoi	Sira Sankoil	1495	105	179	135	58'6	75'4
47.	Gurguri	Mathu	1675	121	190	138	63'7	72'6
48.	"	Gopa	1627	116	185	139	62'7	75'1
49.	"	Lakana	1507	124	188	137	66'0	72'9
50.	"	Gura	1606	105	179	137	58'6	76'5
51.	"	Sura	1531	119	185	135	64'3	73'0
52.	"	Band	1534	113	170	132	66'4	77'7
53.	Khejuri	Maga	1590	121	186	138	65'1	74'2
54.	"	Hari	1649	118	189	135	62'4	71'4
55.	"	Tura	1512	108	176	137	61'3	77'8
56.	"	Sankra	1567	110	194	139	56'7	71'7
57.	"	Baisakhu	1491	113	179	129	62'0	72'1
58.	"	Sanda	1544	127	186	144	68'3	77'4
59.	"	Dura	1572	114	180	139	63'3	77'2
60.	"	Raja	1537	102	181	138	56'4	76'2
61.	"	Tura	1533	116	190	133	61'1	70'0
62.	"	Chandra	1510	119	175	132	68'0	75'4

Table I.

No.	Village.	Name.	Stature.	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index.	Cept. Index.
63.	"	Chanda	1541	116	183	136	63'4	74'4
64.	"	Biru	1487	113	181	140	62'4	77'4
65.	"	Sania	1646	118	184	134	64'1	72'4
66.	Gurguria	Gokul	1594	117	185	138	63'2	74'4
67.	Thuruguri	Pancha	1625	106	195	141	54'4	72'4
68.	"	Kanoo	1645	110	182	143	60'4	78'4
69.	"	Diboo	1590	109	172	133	62'8	77'4
70	"	Budhi	1630	113	185	134	61'0	77'4

Table II Dhelki Khārīās *

1.	Bargaon	Guna	1581	122	204	145	59'8	71'4
2.	"	Jutuya	1636	111	192	136	57'8	70'4
3.	Mauna Bahal	Muru	1585	121	181	129	66'9	71'4
4.	"	Set	1600	129	178	135	72'4	75'4
5.	"	Kondha	1625	115	182	137	63'2	75'4
6.	Subdega	Bouko	1635	122	192	137	63'5	71'4
7.	"	Kurso	1581	121	185	137	65'4	74'4
8.	Talsera	Chamra	1556	122	195	135	62'6	69'4
9.	"	Kandha	1661	119	179	134	60'9	74'4
10.	"	Githu	1638	107	186	135	57'5	72'4

Least Frontal	Bi-Zygomatic	Bi Gonial	Nasal Lt.	Nasal Br.	Nasal Index	Sup Facial Lt.	Morph Facial	morph Facial Index	Head Circumference	Foce	Browridge	Ev. Lip	Forehead
100	126	89	44	42	95.5	56	100	79.4	532	Ov	+	+	Bul
95	112	92	39	34	87.2	55	95	85.5	531	„	+	—	+
106	137	96	45	41	91.1	60	106	77.4	550	„	—	+	—
103	134	101	48	40	83.3	63	103	76.9	560	Sq	+	+	+
105	135	94	45	43	95.6	56	105	77.8	540	„	+	+	+
105	139	102	48	37	77.1	60	105	75.5	525	Sq	+	—	+
100	128	89	48	38	79.2	60	108	84.4	545	Ov	—	+	—
101	131	90	46	38	82.6	58	110	84.0	548	„	+	+	+
102	129	89	48	39	81.2	59	112	86.8	539	Ov	+	—	+
103	124	88	44	42	95.5	62	109	87.9	531	Ov	—	+	+
103	129	102	49	37	75.5	60	113	87.6	545	„	+	—	+
101	128	96	47	41	87.2	63	114	89.1	521	„	+	+	+
101	128	92	46	36	78.3	59	104	81.3	529	Ov	+	—	+
100	129	90	48	37	77.1	62	115	89.2	532	Ov	—	+	—
99	129	89	45	42	93.3	58	102	79.1	531	„	+	+	++
102	133	92	43	37	86.0	58	108	81.2	552	Ov	++	—	+
105	136	104	51	42	82.3	63	106	78.0	534	„	—	+	+
101	133	84	48	41	85.4	68	111	83.5	541	Sq	+	+	—
98	134	95	49	37	75.5	64	117	87.3	535	Ov	+	—	+
101	132	97	44	37	84.1	59	108	81.8	538	Sq	+	+	—
98	126	85	45	38	84.4	62	101	81.0	527	„	—	+	—

Table II.

No.	Village	name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt Index	Ceph Index
32.	"	Milku	1630	115	191	140	60'2	73'3
33.	Pamsala	Patan	1666	100	184	126	54'4	68'5
34.	Bandhartola	Kandre	1535	121	191	133	63'4	69'6
35.	Uperkelor	Sukar	1628	106	180	138	58'9	76'7
36.	Ranibera	Tunia	1694	117	193	131	60'6	67'9
37.	"	Thakor	1682	108	184	133	58'7	72'3
38.	Kumarbera	Kora	1653	109	182	135	59'9	74'2
39.	Ranai	Dukhu	1502	119	178	135	67'9	75'8
40.	Kumarbera	Perna	1554	122	187	141	65'2	75'4
41.	Buluabahar	Haris	1579	111	176	133	63'1	75'6
42.	"	Chandra	1662	125	186	142	67'2	76'3
43.	Tapkara	Ruinsa	1522	115	187	141	61'5	75'4
44.	"	Baisakhi	1603	111	176	128	63'1	72'7
45.	"	Lagra	1634	120	191	141	62'8	73'8
46.	Singibahar	Dhodho	1687	126	197	144	64'0	73'1
47.	"	Ogro	1618	103	192	134	53'7	69'8
48.	"	Thima	1651	114	183	137	62'3	74'9
49.	"	Bhandra	1671	115	190	138	60'5	72'6
50.	"	Kata	1638	113	189	139	59'8	73'5
51.	"	Marwar	1577	120	190	135	61'2	71'1
52.	"	Ratan	1510	108	188	138	57'5	73'4

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt Index	Ceph. Index
53.	"	Milku	1556	112	186	136	60.2	73.1
54.	"	Balang	1687	115	195	141	59.0	72.3
55.	Jamlabahar	Budhu	1622	114	187	142	61.0	75.9
56.	"	Chunda	1520	112	187	135	59.9	74.6
57.	"	Chundi	1658	126	195	145	64.6	74.4
58.	Uperkela	Kangola	1548	120	188	141	63.8	75.0
59.	"	Budhu	1651	116	195	142	59.5	72.8
60.	"	Mangal	1448	107	181	132	59.1	72.9
61.	"	Jirga	1621	118	194	140	60.8	72.2
62.	Karsai	Malu	1652	116	191	142	60.7	74.3
63.	"	Suku	1602	113	184	134	61.4	72.8
64.	"	Tankoi	1674	114	190	135	60.0	71.1
65.	"	Bhika	1636	124	193	134	64.3	69.4
66.	"	Balku	1661	120	187	139	64.2	74.3
67.	"	Chindra	1592	110	182	130	60.4	74.4
68.	"	Sanjha	1654	111	183	134	60.7	73.2
69.	"	Thepa	1569	104	191	143	53.9	74.9
70.	"	Milam	1651	112	188	139	59.6	73.9
71.	Uperkela	Sukra	1637	125	183	137	68.3	74.9
72.	"	Jhirgu	1589	121	184	138	65.8	75.0
73.	"	Saheba	1553	112	192	138	58.3	71.9

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index	Ceph Index
74.	"	Thupkel	1646	126	192	140	65.6	72.9
75.	"	Maya	1543	115	183	142	62.8	77.6
76.	Sundru	Jokal	1675	123	186	137	66.1	73.7
77.	"	Sarner	1580	124	186	143	66.7	76.9
78.	"	Sanju	1608	119	182	132	63.4	72.5
79.	Karsai	Vika	1700	126	192	143	65.6	74.5
80.	"	Indar	1501	126	183	139	68.9	76.0
81.	Kamarbahar	Gopal	1679	122	190	139	64.2	73.2
82.	"	Diba	1630	117	182	133	64.3	73.1
83.	"	Dhuru	1622	115	184	127	62.5	69.0
84.	"	Dinoo	1628	116	184	136	63.0	73.9
85.	"	Bodo	1620	125	194	132	64.4	68.0
86.	"	Soma	1602	113	190	139	59.5	73.2
87.	"	Mangroo	1670	115	193	140	59.6	72.5
88.	"	Panru	1616	114	180	135	63.3	75.0
89.	"	Munoo	1576	119	186	145	64.0	78.0
90.	"	Sukru	1632	111	186	141	59.7	75.8
91.	"	Tohila	1591	112	181	137	61.9	75.7
92.	Konpara	Barko	1663	111	183	142	60.7	77.6
93.	"	Guka	1512	114	195	136	58.5	69.7
94.	Ranai	Shasi	1661	123	206	140	67.2	69.6

Table II.

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index	Ceph Index
95.	"	Budhi	1636	118	188	138	62.8	73.4
96.	"	Nanku	1628	119	182	132	65.4	72.5
97.	Junadih	Lakhou	1596	115	184	136	62.5	73.9
98.	"	Jhalia	1575	104	180	137	57.8	76.1
99.	"	Pamlu	1595	115	188	139	61.2	73.9
100.	Jadamal	Soma	1571	113	182	136	62.1	74.7

* Table III.

1.	* Simdega	Somra	1568	121	180	136	67.2	75.6
2.	"	Vako	1492	117	180	137	65.0	76.1
3.	"	Khadra	1630	121	191	142	63.3	74.7
4.	"	Arnu	1692	125	185	142	67.6	76.7
5.	"	Boas	1620	132	196	140	67.4	71.4
6.	"	Sukra	1665	118	189	139	62.4	73.5
7.	Garja	Sukru	1657	107	185	135	57.8	72.9
8.	"	Somra	1635	109	186	141	58.6	75.8
9.	"	Sukhu	1627	117	182	142	64.3	78.0
10.	Simdega	Vado	1600	120	185	136	64.9	73.5
11.	Thithaitangar	Hua	1657	115	187	143	61.5	76.5
12.	Thawadi	Eto	1634	115	186	137	61.8	73.7

* No 1 to 60 are from Rānchi District.

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index	Ceph Index
13.	"	Ludha	1661	116	194	138	59'8	71'1
14.	"	Ram	1590	121	178	133	67'9	74'7
15.	Garja	Budhu	1648	113	195	138	58'0	70'8
16.	Purnāpāri	Soma	1565	113	185	141	61'1	76'2
17.	Bhāwarpāni	Barwa	1551	108	183	130	59'0	71'0
18.	"	Budbra	1564	114	187	138	61'0	73'8
19.	"	Chattan	1602	124	193	132	64'3	68'4
20.	"	Somra	1622	113	196	139	57'7	70'9
21.	Bherikudar	Kalo	1606	104	184	140	56'5	76'1
22.	"	Puna	1590	119	187	131	63'6	76'1
23.	"	Soma	1661	123	193	138	63'7	71'5
24.	"	Buchu	1574	116	177	139	65'5	78'5
25.	"	Vado	1651	119	185	138	64'3	74'6
26.	"	Budhua	1585	114	185	133	61'6	71'9
27.	"	Modi	1561	113	182	140	62'1	76'9
28.	"	Tigu	1595	111	182	134	61'0	73'6
29.	"	Etoa	1574	114	179	131	63'6	73'2
30.	Ṭiṭhaitāngar	Soma	1666	112	198	142	56'6	71'7
31.	"	Lanka	1721	116	197	148	58'9	75'1
32.	"	Pagu	1632	118	186	131	63'4	70'4
33.	Garganbāhāl	Hivwo	1581	118	185	139	63'8	75'1

No.	Village.	Name.	Stature.	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt Index.	Ceph Index.
34.	"	Budhua	1594	117	193	135	60'6	69'9
35.	"	Kondla	1582	112	184	133	60'9	72'3
36.	Meramdega	Mangal	1641	125	198	139	63'1	70'2
37.	"	Sukram	1634	116	190	139	61'1	73'2
38.	"	Budhu	1627	117	176	138	66'4	78'4
39.	"	Madhu	1578	109	190	137	57'4	72'1
40	"	Sagai	1588	128	191	137	67'0	71'7
41	"	Rutlu	1630	115	186	136	61'8	73'5
42	"	Soai	1755	109	184	133	59'2	72'2
43	"	Somna	1571	112	184	141	60'9	76'6
44	"	Sukru	1495	117	188	139	62'2	73'9
45	"	Thipai	1581	137	202	143	67'8	76'8
46	"	Eatowa	1614	123	190	132	64'7	69'5
47	"	Soma	1575	121	186	135	65'1	72'6
48	"	Chanda	1586	116	187	138	62'0	73''
49	"	Gundhi	1618	111	183	136	60'7	74'5
50	Birkera	Budhu	1505	105	184	136	57'1	73
51	"	Karnal	1648	114	181	132	63'0	73'
52	"	Birsa	1627	113	177	136	63'8	76'
53	"	Sukhua	1596	115	182	133	63'2	73'
54	"	Dabu	1551	131	191	137	68'6	71

No.	Village.	Name.	Stature.	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt. Index.	Geoph. Index.
76.	Baglui	Dulia	1680	119	182	135	65'4	74'2
77.	"	Hinu	1666	126	183	134	68'9	73'2
78.	Liplai	Vandra	1655	120	186	135	64'5	72'6
79.	"	Pada	1595	131	187	142	70'1	76'0
80.	"	Panra	1652	119	188	139	63'3	73'9
81.	"	Goma	1568	116	187	141	62'0	75'4
82.	"	Simro	1500	121	181	138	66'9	76'2
83.	"	Birsa	1697	118	185	137	63'8	74'1
84.	"	Bulu	1685	112	189	127	59'3	67'2
85.	"	Baha	1590	118	185	139	63'8	75'1
86.	"	Jalu	1677	115	196	132	58'7	67'4
87.	"	Pandra	1565	116	192	134	60'4	69'8
88.	"	Jatia	1572	113	186	137	60'8	73'7
89.	Bijpur	Teka	1622	115	185	141	61'2	76'2
90.	"	Sukur	1585	121	186	144	65'1	77'4
91.	"	Pandru	1575	113	179	134	63'1	74'9
92.	"	Dhankuar	1568	110	184	131	59'8	71'2
93.	Baypur	Madho	1622	118	188	141	62'8	75'0
94.	"	Pelka	1651	117	187	135	62'6	72'2
95.	"	Bhundu	1541	126	184	137	68'5	74'5
96.	"	Barnalu	1571	116	175	135	66'3	77'1

No.	Village	Name	Stature	Head Ht.	Head Lt.	Head Br.	Alt Index	Ceph. Index
97.	„	Puna	1622	119	179	137	66.5	76.5
98.	Malidi	Dukla	1612	111	191	138	58.1	72.3
99.	Baypur	Riska	1582	118	184	141	64.1	76.6
100.	„	Banur	1549	114	180	136	63.3	75.6

The-

APPENDIX

Averages of Different Anthropo-

	Risley *	Dās *
	(Dūdḥ and Dḥelk together)	(Hill Khārīā)
Cephalic length —	18.4	18.38
Cephalic breadth —	13.7	13.43
Cephalic Index —	74.5	73.09
Nasal length —	4.5	4.16
Nasal breadth —	4.0	3.82
Nasal index —	88.5	92.11
Stature. —	160.1	153.75

* [In Risley and Das Absolute measurements are given
x [In the Present volume absolute

APPENDIX III.

Local Distribution of Khārīā Clans.

(i) *Distribution of Dūdh Khārīā clans in the Rānchi District.*

1. Clans found in *Thānā Kolebirā*:—1. Āind or Ḍungḍung 2. Bā or Dhān, 3. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 4. Bārīā or Bārūā ; 5. Bilūng or Nūn ; 6. Ḍemṭā ; 7. Hembrōm, 8. Kerkeṭṭā or Sāmad ; 9. Kirō or Mailwār ; 10. Kāṇḍūlnā (in villages Saraitoli, Jamtoli, Saisera, Sheonāthpur, and Aghrima), 11. Kūlū or Kachūā ; 12. Lūgūn ; 13. Poṛh (Pōrhō ?) 14. Sōreng or Suren ; 15. Topnō ; 16. Samrihā.

2. Clans in *Thānā Bolbā* :—1. Āind or Ḍungḍung, 2. Bā, or Dhān ; 3. Bāgē, or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ, 4. Bārīā (Bārlihā ?) ; 5. Bilūng or Nūn ; 6. Kerkeṭṭā or Sāmad ; 7. Kirō or Mailwār ; 8 Kūlū or Kachūā ; 9. Sōreng or Suren ; 10. Ṭopō.

3. Clans in *Thānā Basiā* :—1. Āind or Ḍungḍung ; 2. Katen (?) ; 3. Kerkeṭṭā or Sāmad ; 4. Kūlu or Kachūā ; 5. Soreng or Suren ; 6. Ṭōpō.

4. Clans in *Thānā Bānō* :—1. Āind or Ḍungḍung ; 2. Bā or Dhān ; 3. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 4. Kerkeṭṭā or Sāmad ; 5. Poṛhō (identified with Kerkeṭṭā as they originally lived at Pōrā) ; 6. Kūlū or Kachūā ; 7. Sōreng or Suren.

5. Clans in *Thānā Rāiḷih* :—1. Āind or Ḍungḍung ; 2. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 3. Kerkeṭṭā or Sāmad ; 4. Kirō ; 5. Kūlū or Kachūā ; 6. Sōreng or Suren ; 7. Ṭōpō.

6. Clans in *Thānā Pālkhōṭ* :—1. Āind or Ḍungḍung ; 2. Bā or Dhān ; 3. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 4. Bārīā or Bārlihā (in Kharōāḍih) ; 5. Bilūng or Nūn ; 6. Kāsi (in

Musriṭoli); 7. Kerkettā or Sāmad ; 8. Kiro or Mailwār ; 9. Kūjri (in Bogesera); 10. Kūlū or Kachūā ; 11. Patiār (in Nākhtoli); 12. Suman [or Samad ?] (in Lodhma); 13. Tirki (in Malai, Napkara, Bongru, Jena, Jhikharmi); 14. Ṭōpō (in Nākṭiṭoli); 15. Ṭūṭuā (in Nākṭiṭoli).

7. Clans in *Thānā Sisāi* :—1. Āind or Dūngdūng ; 2. Bā or Dhān ; 3. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 4. Bā or Barlā (in Jorea); 5.+6. Kāṭen & Tirki (in Goilkerā); 7. Kerkettā; 8. Kirō or Mailwār ; 9. Kūlū or Kachuā ; 10. Sōreng or Suren.

8. Clans in *Gumlā Thānā* :—1. Āind or Dūngdūng ; 2. Bā or Dhān, 3. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 4. Bārlā or Bārlihā (in Kurāsi); 5. Bilūng or Nūn; 6. Kerkettā or Sāmad; 7- Kirō or Māil ; 8. Kūlū or Kachuā ; 9. Sōreng or Suren; 10. Tirki (in Kāṭumā, Kurāsi, Kūmriā); 11. Ṭōpō (in Konābirā, Kūmriā).

9. Clans in *Jaldegā Thānā*.—1. Āind or Dūngdūng ; 2. Bāgē or Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ ; 3. Kerkettā or Sāmad ; 4. Kirō or Mail.

10. Clans in *Ghāgrā Thānā* :—1. Āind or Dūngdūng; 2. Bār (in Tusgāon) ; 3. Kerkettā or Sāmad ; 4. Kūlū or Kachuā ; 5. Ṭōpō (in Tusgāoñ, Bargāoñ, Salmāi).

11. & 12. Clans in *Simdegā, Ṭhiṭhāitāngar, and Kūrdeg Thānās* :—These contain the largest population of Dūdh Khāriās. In each of these *thānās*, the eight principal clans, namely, 1. Bā ; 2. Bāgē ; 3. Bilūng, 4. Dūng-dūng, 5. Kerkettā, 6. Kiro, 7. Sōreng, and 8. Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ, are numerous. In *thānā Simdegā* we also find the *Ṭōppō* clan (e.g. in village *Pūrnā-pāni*).

(ii) *Distribution of Dhelki Khāriā clans in the Jāshpur State.*—

Jāshpur is a principle centre of the Dhelki Khāriās.

There are 469 families of D̥helki Khāriās in the Jāshpur State containing 1,542 males and 1,548 females. Of these, 59 families belong to the *Hañsā* clan, 63 (57+6) to the *Kerkettā* or *Sāmad* clan, 91 (84+7) to the *Sōreng* or *Surin* or *Pākhnā* clan, 31 to the *Bāgē* clan, 96 (73+26) to the *Mūrū* clan, 12 to the *Chārba* clan, 9 to the *Bārlihā* clan, 22 to the *Mail* clan, 13 to the *Chār* clan, 1 to the *Mālik* clan, 1 to the *Chārkhād* clan, 3 to the *Bāgē* clan, 2 to the *Mahānandīā* clan, 2 to the *Kirō* clan, 13 to the *Āind* clan, 1 to the *Tikhāl* clan, 2 to the *Tipoo* clan, 8 to the *Barwā* clan, 1 to the *Tirki* clan (which is by some identified with the *Tetetehoiñ* clan), 4 to the *Nākh* clan, 1 to the *Dumar* clan, 7 to the *Sāmad* clan, 2 to the *Bilūng* or *Nūn* clan, 1 to the *Bachhwār* clan, 1 to the *Jhāro* clan, 1 to the *Dūngdūng* clan, 1 to the *Theṭhei* clan, 2 to the *Tetar* clan, 2 to the *Mail* clan, 2 to the *Cheng* clan, 2 to the *Panidh* clan; and 6 families name the title *Nāik* as their clan-name, and 2 claim the title *Pradhān* as their clan-name.

(iii) *Distribution of Khāriā clans in the Gāngpūr State.*

In the Gāngpūr State, both the Dūdh and the D̥helki sections live together. The Dūdh Khāriās appear to have emigrated southwards into the State from the Rānchi District across the Sankh river ; and the D̥helki Khāriās westwards from the Rānchi District across the Kōel. Thus, towards the western or Jāshpūr side of the State the D̥helki Khāriās predominate, whereas towards the eastern side the Dūdh Khāriās predominate. Most of the clans of both the Dūdh and the D̥helki sections are represented in this State. As we have already said (pp. 129-130 *ante*), the principal *gotras* here have sub-divisions, most of which are geographical. Thus the *Mūrū* or *Kulū* or

Kachuā (tortoise) clan has at least five sub-divisions or sub-classes known respectively as *Kunmulia Mūrū*, *Mūrgia Mūrū*, *Tapkāriā Mūrū*, *Sirigberia Mūrū*, *Moi Mūrū*; the *Sōreng* or *Suren* clan have such sub-clans as *Koṭāngharia Suren*, *Tirelā Suren*, *Komrhekelia Suren*, *Poṭomgāriā Suren*, and *Darghiā Suren*.

Although, as we said, the Dūḍh Khāriās predominate in the eastern part of the State, still in most *thānās* Dhelki Khāriās are also found. Thus in the Rāj-Gāngpūr *thānā*, there are as many as 250 families of Dūḍh and 31 families of Dhelkis. Of the 24 villages in that *thānā* where Khāriās are found, in two villages (*viz.*, Pādā and Laing) there are respectively 8 and 14 Dhelki Khāriā families and no Dūḍh Khāriā; and in four villages (namely, Khesrā Māl with 3 Dūḍh and 3 Dhelki families; Liploi with 2 Dhelki and 11 Dūḍh families; Khatpur-bāhal with 3 Dhelki and 2 Dūḍh families; Lanjiberna with 1 Dhelki and 39 Dūḍh families) both these sections of the Khāriās are represented.

In the Pānposh *thānā*, Dūḍh Khāriās have the following clans:—*Āind*, *Bā*, *Bilūng*, *Dūngdūng*, *Kerketṭā*, *Kirō*, *Kūlū*, *Māil*, *Minj*, *Sōreng*, *Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ*, *Tirki*, *Ṭōppō*.

Clan-names met with among the Dūḍh Khāriās and Dhelki Khāriās respectively, within the Talserā *thānā* of the Gāngpūr State, are as follows:—

Dūḍh:—*Bā*, *Bilūng*, *Bārlā*, *Dūngdūng*, *Kirō*, *Kerketṭā*, *Kūlū*, *Sōreng*, *Ṭōppō*, *Ṭeṭeṭehoiñ*.

Dhelki:—*Bāgē*, *Barlihā*, *Dūngdūng*, *Charhād*, *Hañs-dā*, *Kerketṭā*, *Māil*, *Mūrgiā Mūrū*, *Parliā Mūrū*, *Sōreng*, *Ṭopnō*.

APPENDIX IV.

The Probable Relation of the Hill Khārīā Origin-myth to that of the Bhañj or Bhañja Rāj-Family.

At page 26 *ante*, we noticed the myth of their tribal origin recounted to us by some Hill Khārīās as also by some men of the Purāṇ caste. That myth would connect the Hill Khārīās with the Bhañj or Bhañja Rāj-family of Mayurbhañj. During our stay in the Mayurbhañj State, we were interested to learn that a similar tradition of origin from a pea-hen's egg is current in the Rāj (Bhañja) family as well, although without any reference to a connection of the Bhañj family with either the Khārīās or the Purāṇs. We further came to learn that the same origin myth is common to all the royal Bhañja families, *viz.*, those of Keoñjhar, Baud, Daspāllā, and Gumsar, and the Bhañj Zemindar (Rāj) family of Kaṇikā in Ōṛissā.

Further inquiry showed that so far as the origin of these Bhañja families are concerned, their myth of origin has also been recorded in some old copper-plate grants. Thus, in the copper-plates issued from Khijjingō-Koṭṭā, probably modern Khiching in the Mayurbhañj State, it is recorded that the founder of the Bhañja family, Vīrabhadra surnamed Ādi Bhañja (*lit.*, "the first Bhanja"), came out of an egg of a pea-hen by breaking it open and was brought up by the sage Vaśishṭha. The dates of these copper-plates go back to at least the 11th century, A. D., if not earlier.¹ This legend, we further found,

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, 10 71, pp. 161-161, and *Journal of the Bihār and Ōṛissā Research Society*, Vol. IV, 1918, pp. 172-177. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee fixed the time of Ranabhañja I. of this dynasty as the ninth century.—*Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India*, (Blackie and Sons, 1934.)

is to this day repeated by the astrologers of Mayurbhañj in horoscopes while recording the regnal year of the ruling Mahārājā ².

This fanciful legendary origin of the Bhañja royal families is also recorded in a letter addressed to the ruler of Keoñjhar by a ruler of Tālcher in the middle of the 17th century ³. Upendra Bhañja of Gumsar, the famous Ōṛiyā poet belonging to the Bhañja family, who flourished in the first quarter of the 18th century, narrates this legend where he describes his family ⁴. The copper-plates of Raṇa Bhañja Deva ⁵ of Khinjali Maṇḍala mention that the Bhañja family was egg-born (*aṇḍaja-vamśa-prabhava*). This Raṇabhañja reigned for more than fifty years and lived in the ninth century.

A more matter-of-fact account of origin is furnished by the Bonāi copper-plate grant of Udaya Varāha ⁶ which narrates that the ancestors of the donor belonged to the Mayura family which flourished at Chitrakuṭa or Chitōrgarh in Mewar, Rājputānā. In the *History of Rājputānā* by Mahamahopadhaya Gauri Śankar Ojhā (p. 87), again, it is recorded that a branch of the Imperial Mayura dynasty of the Solar race was ruling at Chitōrgarh; and the editor of this grant, the late Mahamahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Shāstri, identified that dynasty as a branch of the Bhañja family. The seal of this copperplate grant represents a peacock, like the seals of all the Bhanja

2. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1922-23*, p. 126, and *The Bhañj Dynasty of Mayurbhañj and their ancient capital-Khiching*, pp. 5-6.

3. *Tālchera Itihāsa*, by Pandit Ghanashyam Mishra, 1934, p. 20.

4. *Lāvanyavatī*, Chapter XVI.

5. *Journal of the Bihār and Ōṛissā Research Society*, Vol. II, p. 433 and Vol. VI, p. 270 & p. 484.

6. *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 243.

families of Ōṛissā. Mention of the name of one Dharanī Varāha ⁷ in a stone inscription at Khiching goes to show the relationship of the Bhañja Rāj families with the Varāha Rāj family. Mr. L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, a former Political Agent of the Ōṛissā Feudatory States, writes in his *Gazetteer of the Ōṛissā Feudatory States* (p. 136):- "The Baud, Daspalla, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj Raj families belong to the same stock, claiming descent from the solar race and are held to be high-caste Kshatriyas".

In *Rasika Mangala*, ⁸ a Bengali book on the life and preachings of Rasikānanda Deva Goswāmi belonging to the Shyamānandi sect of Vaishnavas, written in the middle of the 17th century, mention is made of the Mayurbhañj family as belonging to the *Suryavamśa* or the Solar dynasty.

The link between this mythical origin from an egg and the solar origin of a royal family is supplied by a Tibetan chronicle of note. In *Pag Sam Jon Zang* ⁹ or the History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India, by Sumpa Khan-Po Yese Pal Jor, that distinguished historiographer and chronologist of Tibet writes:—"Suryavamśa is the name of the race to which Buddha Sākya-Simha belonged. It is derived from the mythological story that one of his ancestors was born of an egg which was hatched in the sun's ray". Again, "Mauryavamśa is the branch of the solar race to which Emperor Aśoka belonged".

7. *Vide* reference under foot-note 2, *ante*.

8. *Rasikamangala*, p. 90.

9. Edited by late Rai Bahadur S. C. Das, C. I. E., (Calcutta, 1908, Index, page XXXVIII).

The story of being hatched in "the sun's ray" is also found current in the Bhañja families of Ōṛissā. It has been recorded by the late Tarini Charan Rath in his *Gūmasara Itihāsa* ¹⁰ or History of Gūmsar written in the Ōṛiyā language that the progenitor of the Bhañja family was hatched out of a pea-hen's egg in the sun's rays and that this is why the family is known as Suryavaṁśa. As early as in 1874-76, in his account of Bhānpur, Mr. Beglar of the Archaeological Survey of India wrote as follows regarding the history of the Bhañja families of Ōṛissā:—"A history of Mayurbhanj (Moharbhānj) family and its branches would, I have no doubt, throw much light on the tangled questions of the origin of the petty Rajas hereabouts. That the Mayurbhanj family were once very powerful, there cannot be any reason for doubting; and although the speculation appears wild, it is not impossible that this family may have been descended from Asoka himself who, we know, was a Maurya—so called perhaps from being of the Mayura family. I throw out the suggestion, not as one which I have any evidence to support, but as a mere speculation, the investigation of which may throw light on the obscure annals of an obscure but once locally powerful family" ¹¹. The traditions current in Ōṛissā together with the account from the Tībetān chronicle quoted above, would appear to lend support to Beglar's suggestion. Another fact in support of this is that the Bhañja rulers of Mayurbhanj and Keoñjhar claim to belong to the Vasiṣṭha gotra (clan); and, in one of the copper-plates, Ādi Bhañja is recorded

10. *Gūmasara Itihāsa*, Cuttack, 1913, p. 3.

11. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India-Reports*, Vol. XIII pp. 110-111.

as having been brought up by the sage Vāśishṭha.¹² In his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Mr. C. V. Vaidya¹³, in the Appendix entitled "Solar and Lunar Kshatriya races in the Vedas," writes as follows:—"The Vashishṭhas were the Purōhitas of the Bhāratas". Again, "These Bhāratas were the people who subsequently were called the solar Kshatriyas and the Vashishṭhas were their hereditary priests".

In his *History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age*, Mr. J. F. Hewitt writes that the Bhāratas "were traditional rulers of all India", and that one legend of their descent is from "the Mayura or peacock". "In India the sons of the peacock were the race ruled by the dynasty of the Maurya or Peacock kings among whom the great Asoka was the celebrated ruler in days long after the remote period with which I am now dealing".¹⁴ He adds, "During the Bronze (Copper?) age in India their (Bhāratas') sea-port was Tamluk at the mouth of the Hooghly and Rupanarain. Its Sanskrit name, of which the modern Tamluk is a corruption, is Tāmra-lipti, copper (Tāmra) port, and it was according to tradition the capital of the Peacock kings of the Bhāratas whose descendants still rule the adjoining semi-independent State of Moharbhunj".¹⁵ All these go to show that the tradition recorded in the copper-plates is of very ancient origin.

Now, the question naturally arises how did the wild Hill Khārīās and the high-placed Bhañja ruling families

12. See reference in foot-note 2 Ante.

13. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, 1924, Poona, p. 269.

14. *History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age* (London, 1901), pp. 280-81.

15. *Ibid.* pp. 359-60.

of Ōṛissā come to possess a common mythical tradition of origin?

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, though not actually assigning a common origin to the Bhañjas with the Khāriās, opines that the social rank of the Bhañja family was once about the same as that of the 'Kōls', and writes as follows:—"That the Bhanjas of old epigraphical records were not in those days far above the social influence of the Kols, can be gathered from the fact (recorded in S. C. Roy's work on the *Mundas*) that a princess of the Bhañja house fell in love with a genuine Munda" ¹⁶. Evidently he refers to the following passage in *The Munḍas and Their Country*:—"It was to these wilds of the Panch Parganas, as they are now called, that the largest migration of the Mundas took place. These parts appear to have been outside the limits of Nagpur, and to have formed part of the dominions of the Raja of Mayurbhanj. With the lapse of time, however, some of the descendants of their (the Mundas') elected chiefs or Mankis became ambitious of rising in the social scale, and of assuming greater powers. History repeated itself, and some of these elected chiefs gradually became Hinduised and formed marital connexions with families long recognised as Hindu Rajputs and Kshatriyas. And they called themselves Rajas or Thakurs or Tikaits. The story goes that a clandestine intrigue of one of the Tamar Chiefs with a Mourbhanj lady of rank was punished by the Mourbhanj Raja by presenting a poisoned shirt to the former who died on his arrival home with the shirt on, and the Mundas of the Panch Par-

16. *The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India*, (Calcutta University Publication,) 1927, p. 36.

ganas, enraged at this deceitful conduct on the part of the Mourbhanj Raja, indignantly threw up their allegiance to him, and went over to their old Raja of Chotanagpur once more".¹⁷

This legend, far from suggesting equality of social status, represents the Bhañja Rājā as punishing with death the presumption of a Tāmār Chief to contract intimacy with a Bhañja lady. Nor does the passage quoted refer to any "Bhañja Rājā of epigraphical records" or of the modern period. If the social status of the Mūṇḍās, or 'Kōls' as Mr. Mazumdar terms them, had been about the same as that of the Bhañjas of epigraphical records, the country of the Mūṇḍās might be expected to have retained some archaeological relics and epigraphical records of Mūṇḍā civilization similar to those of the Bhañjas which are met with at various places in Ōṛissā. But no evidence is yet forthcoming of the Mūṇḍā tribe having any epigraphical records or archaeological relics of a glorious past. To this day, the Mūṇḍās, the Khārīās and other Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes occupy a very low position in the scale of civilization, whereas, of the Mayurbhañj family, as the *Memoranda on Native States in India* (1910) published by the Government of India informs us "is held in high esteem among Garjāt Chiefs, and a connection with it by marriage, is deemed a great honour".

From all these considerations it would appear reasonable to infer that the resemblance of the origin-myth of the Hill Khārīās with that of the royal Bhañj families is no evidence of a common origin, particularly when the Khārīās of other districts know nothing of this origin-

17. S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and Their Country*, (1912), pp. 145-46.

myth and recount different legends relating to affinities and migrations.

Thus, some Khāriās of the Rāñchi District recount a legend of their relationship with the Rāj family of Chōṭā-Nāgpur (see pp. 418-420 *ante*) and so, too, do the Khāriās of the Central Provinces ¹⁸. This legend might have been borrowed by the Khāriās from their Mūṇḍā neighbours. So far as the Mūṇḍā tradition is concerned there might have been some foundation for it. In the traditional origin of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Rāj family published in the 'Annals' of that family ¹⁹ the first ancestor of the family is represented as having been nursed and brought up as an infant by an aboriginal Mūṇḍā patriarch with his own children. But the tradition of origin current in the Bhañja families of Mayurbhañj and other Ōṛissā States does not refer to any connection of their ancestor, 'Adi Bhañj', with either the yet-primitive Khāriās or the now-Hinduised Purāṇs. Thus it would appear reasonable to suppose that the portions of the egg-myth which would connect the Khāriās and the Purāṇs with the Mayurbhañj Rāj family, owe their origin to the imagination of those tribes themselves. The Hinduised and comparatively more advanced Purāṇs, similarly claiming kinship with the Bhañj Rājās, style themselves 'Bhañj Purāṇs' and go further and adopt also that part of the legend which places the 'egg' in charge of the ancient Hindu sage Vasiṣṭha (see p. 29 *ante*). But, whereas Vasiṣṭha is the clan-name of the Bhañja families of Ōṛissā, neither the Purāṇs nor the Bhūiñyās, of whom the Purāṇs appear

18. Russel, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 447.

19. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 166.

to be an offshoot ²⁰, own any such clan-name. This would appear to support the Bhañja origin of the myth of their egg-born ancestor, and would stamp the embellishment which represents the first Khāñiā as issuing out of the shell and the first Purāṇ out of the white of the egg as additions invented by those tribes for their own glorification. As we all know, from the earliest times to the present day, different tribes, castes, and families have sought to claim for themselves renowned ancestry, and invented or adopted fanciful myths to support their pretensions. Ancient Kshatriya or Rājput families claimed, and their descendants are credited with, descent from the Sun and the Moon. Successive Census Reports of India bear evidence of modern tribes and castes of low social position aspiring to rise higher in the social scale by claiming Brāmhaṇ or Kshatriya origin. No wonder, therefore, that the Hill Khāñiās, like their neighbours the Purāṇs, should claim a mythical connection with the family of their rulers.



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ERRATA.

Leaving out obvious misprints of English words such as 'charactar' for 'character' (p.5, l. 19), 'missionies' for 'missionaries' (p.56, l. 7), 'bettle-nut', for 'betel-nut' (p.125, l. 30), 'appears', for 'appear' (p.154, l. 19), 'ancetor' for 'ancestor' (p. 187, l. 21), 'compulsery' for 'compulsory' (p.218, l. 16), 'archary' for 'archery' (p.128, l. 13), the following misprints of Khārjīā words and phrases require correction as follows :—

P.77. l. 22, for "Giti o" read "Gitā ō",

P.84, l. 24, after "*Kurit*" add "or *Koled*"

P.91, l. 3, after "*Pārkōm*" add "or *Sāurī*",

P.92. l. 23, for "*Lamdam*" read "*Lamḍum*",

P.95, l. 18, for "*Dāli*" read "*Kuṇḷui*",

P.96 l. 16, for "*Dhara*" read "*Dherā*",

P.97, l. 22, after "Oil-press", add "(*Pāṭū*)"

„ l. 27, after "*puṭlis*" add "or *khurū*",

P.99, l. 21 for "*lutni*" read "*lūtui*",

P.99, last line, for "*Rāgo luṭni*" read "*Rāngo lūtui*",

P.100, l. 9, for "*Rārag*" read "*Rārang*",

„ „24, for "*Lāmtām*" read "*Lāmlām*",

P.101, l. 3, for "*Ghuñtā*" read "*Ghuñṭa*",

P " „l. 27 for "*Ghuñtā* or *Gunta*" read "*Gorhā*",

P.102, l. 3, for "*Mahā-Kinkom*" read "*Mahā-Kāinkōm*",

P.109, l. 15, for "*Rodkong*" read "*Rōḍkong*",

P.1.48, for 'Kākak' beṭḍom', 'Māmiak' beṭḍom', read, 'Kākā' beṭ-ḍom', 'Mamiā' beṭ-ḍōm', etc.

- P.151, l. 18, after 'Sasūr' add 'Gūnmer',
P.161, l. 15, after 'Ajā' add "or Tātāng",
P.180, l. 26, for 'Tubhlungtē' read "Tūblūngtē",
,, l. 27, for Ukiārteri ḍibhārtē" read "Ukiārtē elē
ḍibhartejlē",
P. ,,l. 28, for "surigā" read 'sorigā',
P. ,, l. 29, for "bitar" read "bhitar",
P. 205, l. 15, for "Ginākē" read "Ginātē",
P. ,, l. ,, for "Tilūngtē gūl gōrpē" read "Telōngtē gūl
gorepē",
P. 213, l. 25, for "Kōnsong" read "Kānsong",
P. 315, ll. 18,29, &p. 356 ll. 2; &p. 357, l. 16, for Ba'-
bidn'-bidn' read 'Bā-bid'-bid',

At p. 62, the following corrections may be made:—

- l. 6, for "74. 77 \pm 17," read "74.69 \pm 17" and for \pm "14"
read " \pm 14", and for " \pm 55" read " \pm 55"
l. 13, for "64. 44 \pm 25" read "64. 34 \pm 25" and for
" \pm 24" read " \pm 23", and for " \pm 25" read " \pm 25";
and in the last but one line, for " \pm 56" read " \pm 56",
and in the last line for " \pm 4.3" read " \pm 43".

At. P. 55, last line, for 'a dozen' read 'two dozen'.

In Illustration 23 (facing p. 24), for 'Dūdh' read 'Ḍhelki'.

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